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IE RISE AND
ALL OF NEO-
NSERVATISM
Michael Lind

TWO SIDES

SCENES FROM A NASTY, BRUTISH AND LONG WAR

ESTIONS FOR
KERRY
William Greider

OLD BUSH TO
HIS LIE
Naomi Klein

HITEWASHING
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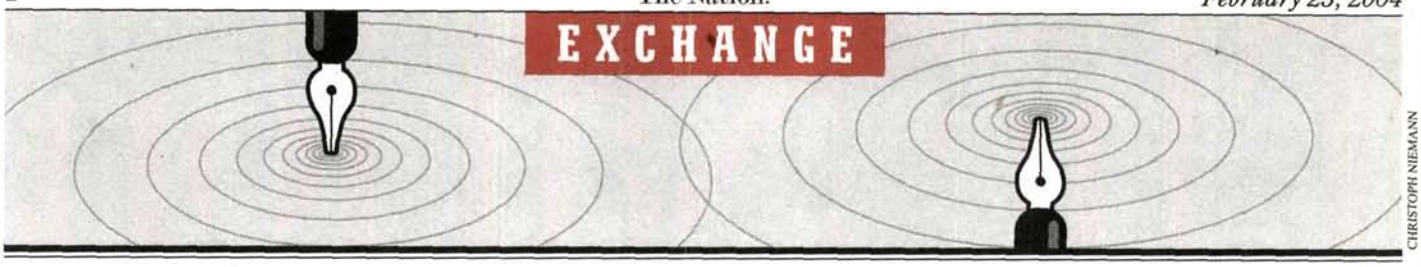

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

Law of Return Arouses Ire

Letty Cottin Pogrebin's "In Defense of the Law of Return" [Dec. 22] drew much impassioned mail from readers—as does any article we print about the State of Israel—in this case, all of it angry. Herewith a sample.

—The Editors

Fort Worth, Tex.

■ It is sad that Letty Cottin Pogrebin does not recognize Israel's Law of Return for what it is: part of a tissue of laws and regulations that have systematically despoiled the Palestinians of their birthright. She appears unable to see the elemental injustice of encouraging people to come to Israel to occupy lands whose rightful owners live a marginal existence in miserable refugee camps. This process of alienation continues as land confiscations and "settler only" roads cut the West Bank into ever-smaller Palestinian Bantustans. Am I alone in thinking that all this is a long way from an "affirmative-action program"? Affirmative action has sought to assist the weak against the strong, not help the strong dispossess the weak. JOHN TAYLOR

Bradford, Vt.

■ While arguing for the right of Jews everywhere to a home in Israel, Letty Cottin Pogrebin shows a clear sensitivity to the Palestinians. Still, I wish she had made clear that room for Israel's new citizens cannot be made in the West Bank. The current practice of whisking new Jewish immigrants from the Tel Aviv airport directly to the settlements violates the spirit of the law she defends. It's hard to be sympathetic to the Law of Return when the land that Israel offers belongs to someone else. BERT DODSON

Chicago

■ As one of the "strangers" this Law of Return (Jews Only) has hurt, I, a Palestinian-American woman born in West Jerusalem, beg to differ with Letty Cottin Pogrebin. I have no right of return, even though I have deeds that prove my family's ownership of land in West and East Jerusalem. Pogrebin, a Jewish-American, born elsewhere, has a right to hop on a plane and "return" to land my family used to own.

Instead of wasting her time milking regrettable historical Jewish victimhood, Pogrebin should prevent more resentment against Israelis by organizing against the land-grabbing wall that has recently deprived Palestinians of land and water to make Jews feel secure while making Palestinians feel more insecure and hopeless. ORAYB NAJJAR

New York City

■ Letty Cottin Pogrebin argues that Israel's Law of Return, which automatically confers citizenship on any Jew who wants it, is justified as a "compensatory response" for Jewish persecution throughout history, or the "affirmative action program of the Jewish people."

Affirmative action, however, was conceived not as a compensation for past wrongs but as a partial remedy for racial discrimination, historically rooted but still alive and kicking. The idea that Jews are an oppressed minority, on the other hand, does not reflect contemporary reality. There are few places in Europe or America where Jews are now marginalized; hoards of gentiles are not poised to scapegoat them for society's ills. Pogrebin's fears may come from Europe's centuries-long persecution of Jews, culminating in the Holocaust. But the notion of the Jew as eternal victim also serves to obscure the causes of present-day anti-Semitism.

Loathing for Jews is indeed on the rise among some Arabs, who are starting to borrow from traditional anti-Semitism. But this is not timeless Jew-hating in a new guise. It is above all a reaction against a state whose racism is embodied not only in Sharon's policies but in its most fundamental laws. The so-called Law of Return states, in effect, that a Brooklyn- or Odessa-born Jew who may never have laid eyes upon what is now Israel, and whose ancestors may not have seen it since biblical times, is more entitled to Israeli citizenship than a Palestinian whose family has lived there continuously for 2,000 years. One way for Jews to combat resurgent anti-Semitism is to stop using their past suffering to rationalize Israel's present racism. JIM CREEGAN

New York City

■ Letty Cottin Pogrebin writes: "Were Israel as committed to justice as to Jewishness…the Jewish National Fund would not have the power to deny non-Jews the right to live, work or run a business on 'state lands.'"

The Jewish National Fund's mission is to be caretaker of the land of Israel. It is a nonpolitical, nonprofit organization. Our parks, our forests and the hundreds of thousands of dunams JNF owns are used by all the people of Israel. In fact, we recently won an international award for the rehabilitation of the Alexander River, a project that benefits both Arab and Jewish citizens.

Even though some will make a legal claim that the land of Israel rightfully belongs to the Jewish people based on historical and biblical facts, we, the Jewish people, did not exercise that rightful claim. Instead, the Jewish National Fund was established 102 years ago and supported by voluntary contributions to purchase land in Israel on behalf of and in trust for the Jewish diaspora. And purchasing the land was not enough. Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, we have lovingly developed and cared for the land, evolving to meet whatever new environmental challenges Israel faces.

That's why the Jewish National Fund is for Israel Forever. RUSSELL F. ROBINSON
Chief Executive Officer
Jewish National Fund

Framingham, Mass.

■ Letty Cottin Pogrebin's article is a shameful justification of Israel's ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. Pogrebin argues that Israel's Law of Return, which allows any Jew to go to Israel, is a form of affirmative action compensating for anti-Semitism in the world. So while any Jew in America—or any non-Jew who decides to convert—can go to Israel, the indigenous inhabitants, Palestinian refugees, many forced to flee by Israeli state terrorism, are denied their internationally sanctioned "right of return" to their homeland.

Pogrebin says it is "not feasible" to absorb millions of Palestinians, but finds no problem with Israel taking in millions of Jews. She defends a form of "affirmative action" for Jews that has nothing in common with US affirmative action. Rather, it would be as if the ethnic cleansing of Native Americans were justified as "affirmative action" for oppressed White Europeans. When she argues that "history trumps ideology and politics," she really means that Israel's racist ideology trumps international law and the human rights of Palestinians. EDMUND R. HANAUER

POGREBIN REPLIES

New York City

■ A great proportion of the letters responding to my article contained hysterical polemics and ad hominem attacks. Several reminded me of the guy who tells a sitting dog to sit. My piece already catalogued the moral and political errors of occupation, settlements, land confiscation, bypass roads, Israel's so-called security fence and its discrimination against its Arab citizens. But more than their obvious and unnecessary reiteration of Israel's "crimes," what troubles me are the writers' misrepresentations and innuendoes.

John Taylor faults me for "encouraging people to come to Israel to occupy lands whose rightful owners live a marginal existence in

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EDITORIALS

AWOL on the Truth

How far can George W. Bush and his White House team go? On the two biggest issues facing them—the war and the budget—there is no end to their disregard for the truth. "The Bush administration's 2005 budget is a masterpiece of disingenuousness, blame-shifting, dishonest budgeting and irresponsible governing." So say the editorialists of the *Washington Post*. It is hard to out-outrage these Washington insiders. Bush's $2.4 trillion budget—which cuts back some domestic programs and includes $272 billion in tax cuts—includes a $521 billion deficit. But have no fear, Bush says. Under his five-year plan, the deficit will be cut by 2009. No way, counter analysts who inhabit the real world. Bush's projections leave out hundreds of billions in expected costs. For instance, his budget includes no money for military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan beyond September. (Is peace scheduled to break out on 9/30?) Moreover, by releasing projections that cover only the next five years, Bush avoids acknowledging the long-term impact of his tax cuts, which will hit the treasury like a missile in 2010. And it turns out that while Congress was recently debating the Medicare drug benefit legislation (what might well be called the Christmas in July for Drug Companies Act), the White House learned that the ten-year cost of the measure would not be the widely accepted figure of $400 billion but closer to $535 billion. Yet Bush and his helpers kept this crucial information from the public.

The Bush Administration also cannot handle the truth on Iraq and those absent weapons of mass destruction. "I want to know all the facts," Bush said, as he agreed to form an independent commission to investigate the prewar intelligence—after having first opposed the idea, of course. This was reminiscent of Arnold Schwarzenegger's hiring of a private investigator (after he won the election) to look into charges that he'd been a serial groper. Isn't Bush already familiar with many of the facts? One issue is whether the intelligence analysts honestly botched the job and overstated Iraq's WMD holdings. But the other is whether Bush and his underlings dishonestly hyped selective pieces of iffy intelligence in order to persuade (or scare) the public into backing their invasion of Iraq. Bush doesn't need an inquiry to know if that occurred. And the evidence is already clear that on key elements of Bush's case for war, his declarations were untethered from intelligence assessments. He claimed Saddam Hussein was "dealing" with Al Qaeda; intelligence analysts, members of Congress who have reviewed the prewar intelligence and even Colin Powell say the intelligence contained no strong evidence of that. Bush aides—most notably Dick Cheney—said Saddam had revived his nuclear weapons program. The intelligence was lacking on that point too.

An independent investigation is a good idea. But Bush, predictably, has undermined its credibility at the start. He's insisted on a commission appointed by the White House, rather than one with commissioners selected by Congressional Republicans and Democrats and by the Administration (as was the independent 9/11 commission). And the White House has signaled that the commission's final report will not come out until 2005—that is, after the election. Given that the House intelligence committee completed its review of the prewar intelligence in several months, there is no reason to believe a commission couldn't do the same. Let's not politicize the commission, some Bush-backers argue. But if GOPers want the next election to be a referendum on national security, shouldn't voters have a complete picture of Bush's performance?

In 2000, Bush campaigned as an advocate of responsibility. His staff even christened his campaign airplane Responsibility One. But, metaphorically speaking, that plane never took off. And it's not flying now. When it comes to dealing with tough truths, Bush has gone AWOL.

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COMMENT

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Bush's Budget Lies

George W. Bush's budget is a true lie. Framed for the election campaign, it lies about the causes and the depths of our staggering fiscal decline, masks the costs of Bush's tax cuts and his wars, hides the hit the poor will take and the lucre the rich will get. Yet this election-year budget also tells the truth about Bush's priorities.

Tax cuts come first. Despite the fiscal hole that has been dug on his watch (from a projected $5.6 trillion surplus over ten years to a $2.9 trillion deficit over the same period), Bush wants to keep digging, calling on Congress for another $1.2 trillion in tax cuts by making the cuts permanent and adding more ways for the wealthy to sock money away tax free. Bush has provided millionaires with $90,000 a year in tax breaks, while reducing corporate tax receipts to levels as a percentage of GDP not seen since the 1930s. The President will never worry about paying for his party.

War and the preparation for war come next. Outlays for national defense, homeland security and military aid programs will total $500 billion next year, not counting the actual costs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, certain to add $50 billion more in a supplemental request that will come just after the election. Our military budget, already greater than 40 percent of the world's total military spending, is up 35 percent since Bush took office. We'll spend more on research and development for new weapons than any other country spends on its entire military, but that apparently is not enough. The President rails against wasteful spending but throws billions more at a Pentagon that cannot account for what it has spent or what it has bought and is the largest source of waste, fraud and abuse in the government.

Other initiatives are largely for show, given token funds to enable the President to talk about them. Poor schools and special education gain $1 billion apiece, but Bush abandoned his promise to pay for his reforms by some $9.4 billion this year alone. He will campaign as the education President, but he'll be nowhere to be found when it comes to meeting the challenge of educating the next generation. He touts funds for community colleges as his "Jobs for the 21st Century" initiative, but his $250 million for 1,200 community colleges won't come close to making up for the cuts they've taken from strapped state budgets. And he cuts another billion from adult education and training programs. He promises a trip to the moon and Mars, but the funding won't take NASA much past Miami. He touts his "compassion capital fund," which at $100 million is the definition of cheap grace—it doesn't begin to match the billions slashed from housing and childcare and other core poverty programs.

The President packages his cuts—in environmental protection, housing, childcare, education and training—as good-government reforms, but he's essentially sending the poorest Americans much of the tab for his top-end tax cuts. For a third the cost of making his tax cuts permanent, the Children's Defense Fund reports, we could provide health insurance to America's 9 million uninsured children, provide Head Start for every eligible child and pay the salaries of 100,000 more teachers to reduce class size.

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COMMENT

Will the Bush program sell? The President will wrap himself in the flag, pray the business cycle goes his way and pretend his gestures are real. He'll lie about the hole we're in and ignore the needs unmet. But his legacy is clear: wars abroad, deepening inequality and widening poverty at home. This is a budget that cuts the taxes of millionaires while teachers are being laid off and children are losing healthcare. It is hard to imagine a greater disservice to our future.

ROBERT L. BOROSAGE

Robert L. Borosage is co-director of Campaign for America's Future.

The 'Electability' Contest

ELECTION MATTERS

"Oh, this is the guy who is supposed to get it," Pam Earle-Benbow said as John Kerry addressed a candidate forum that drew several thousand advocates for low-income families to the Township Auditorium in Columbia, South Carolina, four days before that state's February 3 primary. "He's the favorite son of the day, but he's not very exciting, is he?" said the construction worker. Kameelah Khaalid, a single mom and college student, who was seated near Earle-Benbow, nodded. But as Kerry finished his by-now rote review of his impressive Vietnam War record, his admirable anti–Vietnam War record and his gently liberal list of stands on everything from education to immigration, Khaalid said, "He does sound like a President." "Yes," added Earle-Benbow. "And he looks like a President."

Both women said they remained skeptical about Kerry. But, Khaalid explained, almost apologetically, "You see, we gotta have someone who can beat Bush."

That sense that Kerry has the capacity to dispatch the nation's forty-third President, as opposed to any newfound love of the man or his patrician-populist message, has lifted the Massachusetts senator from also-ran to prospective nominee in the course of two months. On February 3, Kerry parlayed wins in Missouri, Arizona, New Mexico, North Dakota and Delaware, and solid finishes behind Wesley Clark in Oklahoma and John Edwards in South Carolina, into official front-runner status. And in one day he went from trailing former front-runner Howard Dean in the count of pledged convention delegates to leading Dean by a 2-to-1 margin. (Dean has won a scattering of delegates in primaries and caucuses, but ninety-eight of his total of 121 are "super-delegates"—mostly members of Congress and party leaders who announced their support for him when he was running strong.)

Kerry didn't just win delegates, he won "electability" bragging rights. Alone among the contenders, Kerry can claim to be more than a niche candidate, having competed seriously—and for the most part, successfully—in every primary and caucus held so far. He was the clear favorite of Latino voters in Arizona, African-American voters in Missouri, rural voters in North Dakota and union voters just about everywhere. What has suddenly made Kerry so appealing? Not his personality or his consistency on the issues: "caring for people," "right temperament" and "stands for beliefs" were Kerry weak spots in exit polls. Kerry's strength was as a political warrior: 78 percent of his Missouri voters ranked his top quality as "can beat Bush"; the figure was 71 percent in Delaware and 65 percent in Arizona. In most states, Kerry even won among voters who identified themselves as being "strongly opposed" to the war in Iraq, despite the fact that he supported the Senate resolution authorizing the use of force. Kerry's ability to refashion himself as a critic of the war was essential to his success: In Arizona and South Carolina, 74 percent of exit poll interviewees opposed the war; in Missouri the figure was 63 percent and in Oklahoma it was 56 percent.

By neutralizing the war as an issue, Kerry can play the "beat Bush" card without distraction. And he does so at every campaign stop. It gives him the ability to draw primary and caucus voters out of the camps of other contenders and into his column—people like Dr. Janice Bohac, a plant breeder for the USDA in Charleston, South Carolina, who lit up when they talked about the more militant messages of Congressional Progressive Caucus co-chair Dennis Kucinich or Dean but who finished their sentences, as Bohac did, by saying, "Kerry is a Democrat who I can be for in a place like South Carolina and not have to apologize." A few feet away from Bohac stood Ken Riley, the president of International Longshoreman's Association Local 1422, one of the South's savviest union leaders. "You could probably find someone who would line up with your views a little closer, but that candidate couldn't win," he said. "John Kerry can win."

The opportunities to slow Kerry down are disappearing fast on a primary and caucus schedule designed by Democratic National Committee chair Terry McAuliffe to reward establishment candidates with money and momentum. But Kerry still has vulnerabilities that Bush will exploit—unless his Democratic challengers do so first. Unions remain rightly uncomfortable with Kerry's support for international trade agreements, which has been almost as consistent as that of corporation-friendly Democrat Joe Lieberman. Lieberman's own campaign went nowhere this year because he stood on the platform of the conservative Democratic Leadership Council. It is notable that, with Lieberman out of the race, there is no rush to pick up the DLC mantle; rather, Kerry and Edwards are meeting with the industrial unions that backed Dick Gephardt. The increasingly populist Edwards, who has a better record than Kerry, hopes to secure enough labor backing to mount a "fair trade versus free trade" challenge in such states as Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania. And Kerry may yet be called to account for his votes to authorize the use of force in Iraq and for the USA Patriot Act (see "Questions for Kerry," page 6). Dean and Clark talk about making stands in Wisconsin, where the February 17 primary is shaping up as a critical test and where Senator Russ Feingold is a home state hero for casting a lonely vote against the Patriot Act.

McAuliffe and other party chiefs want to settle this race quickly so they can get down to the serious business of fundraising. But even they should recognize that it is wiser to let Kerry take a battering now from fellow Democrats and prove up to it rather than to simply assume that the strengths he has shown will be sufficient. Kerry will be a better candidate in the fall if he is forced to sort out his stands on free trade, the war on Iraq and the Patriot Act before Bush asks, "Why are you criticizing me now

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COMMENT

when as a senator you backed so many of my initiatives?" The in-it-until-the-convention Al Sharpton makes a very good point when he says, "We all want to beat Bush, but we've got some things to sort out among ourselves so we don't nominate someone who isn't quite ready for prime time." JOHN NICHOLS

Questions for Kerry

Nothing stirs Democrats' anger like the fearmongering rhetoric Bush/Cheney employed on the march to war. "The Iraqi regime's record over the decade leaves little doubt that Saddam Hussein wants to retain his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and to expand it to include nuclear weapons. We cannot allow him to prevail in that quest. The weapons are an unacceptable threat."

"Can we afford to ignore the possibility that Saddam Hussein might provide weapons of destruction to some terrorist group bent on destroying the United States?"

"Every nation has the right to act pre-emptively if it faces an imminent and grave threat."

The problem with this rhetoric is that it belongs to Senator John Kerry, the Democratic front-runner. He voted for unilateral war in Iraq, citing the same basic rationales offered by the White House. The only difference was that Kerry simultaneously expressed ambiguous "on the other hand" doubts. Ever since his vote, he has elaborated nuanced explanations as to why he didn't actually mean what he seemed to be saying.

Does it matter? Maybe not. Democrats are so anxious to oust Bush and infatuated with "electability," many seem eager to skip past important substantive questions. If Kerry locks up the nomination in the next few weeks, one can expect him to move swiftly to the center, broadcasting to wider audiences why he is not one of those peacenik liberals Republicans like to demonize. To avoid "buyer's remorse" later, Democrats might ask for clarification on three fundamental matters before it's too late.

§ Kerry supports Bush's new doctrine of pre-emptive war. True, the Senator did question whether the Administration had sufficient evidence to invade Iraq and did urge further diplomacy, but the war resolution he supported in October 2002 required neither. Headed "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq," the resolution consigned open-ended, undefined powers: "The President is authorized to use the Armed Forces of the United States as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to—(1) defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and (2) enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq." Kerry's claim that he was not giving Bush "carte blanche" for invasion is believable only if you haven't read the text.

Lately, Kerry has further embellished his antiwar credentials, denouncing Bush for "ideological pre-emption," claiming "the vote I cast was not a vote to go to war" and opposing $87 billion for the Iraq conflict. Yet he also continues to defend the concept of pre-emptive unilateral war. He belittled Howard Dean's insistence that "a true international coalition" (Kerry's words) should have been the condition for war. "For Howard Dean to permit a veto over when America can or cannot act not only becomes little more than a pretext for doing nothing—it cedes our security and presidential responsibility to defend America to someone else," Kerry explained. Which is it, Senator?

These positions could come back to haunt Kerry if he gets to the White House. The Pentagon and CIA are adept at concocting "threats" around the world, then promoting vague and often fictitious intelligence into a "crisis" the President must address. With helpful clamor from conservative hawks, the military intelligence agencies seem especially to enjoy doing this to Democratic Presidents.

§ Kerry is a down-the-line free trader. As a senator for eighteen years, he has always supported the multinationals' position by voting for new trade agreements. Fond of attending the World Economic Forum in Davos, he reportedly once dubbed himself "Davos man." As a presidential candidate, he muted these views and joined his rivals in calling for environmental and labor rights. He has promised to "fix" NAFTA (as Bill Clinton promised in 1992 before he sold out labor and pushed it to passage). In the run-up to 2004, aware that labor and environmentalists are hostile to corporate-led globalization, Kerry took a more critical position on fast-track negotiating authorization for the proposed FTAA. He offered an amendment to block the notorious investor-rights provisions. His amendment lost. Kerry voted for fast track.

The Senator's views on trade are as tortuously constructed as his positions on the war against Iraq. His floor speeches on trade agreements meticulously lay out both sides, acknowledging all the negatives and the American workers who will be injured; then he embraces the establishment reasoning and votes yes. In 2000

CALVIN TRILLIN

EXPLAINING IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS WHY THE UNITED STATES INVADED AND OCCUPIED ANOTHER COUNTRY WITHOUT PROVOCATION, GEORGE W. BUSH OFFERS HISTORY HIS VERSION OF 'REMEMBER THE MAINE!'

Iraq had shown proclivities
For "weapons-of-mass-destruction-related
program activities."

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when the United States formalized trade relations with China and allowed its entry into the World Trade Organization, Kerry anguished at length over human rights, the environment and other concerns but concluded that opening China's vast market to American companies was more important. It would reduce the soaring US trade deficit with China, he said. The deficit was then $68 billion and is now $127 billion.

§ Kerry is a conventional establishment politician, not a reformer. Colleagues regard him as thorough and conscientious, not a clubby insider but the opposite of bold and inventive. While he talks now about confronting "special interests," he has shown no interest whatever in reforming what's wrong with the Democratic Party itself. Kerry supported the accommodating Tom Daschle for Senate Democratic leader over the more aggressive and liberal Chris Dodd. He serves on Commerce, one of those "money committees" where the stream of business legislation guarantees a heavy flow of corporate campaign contributions. His Massachusetts colleague in the Senate, Edward Kennedy, has often teased and tweaked him into supporting more liberal measures. On welfare reform, Kerry abandoned Kennedy and voted with Clinton and the Republicans.

If Kerry is the nominee, the Democratic Party will have once again managed to finesse important matters that generate great political energy and anti-establishment dissatisfaction among rank-and-file voters—the ill-conceived war in Iraq, globalization and fundamental political reform. If Kerry wins the White House, a disenchanted campaign strategist told me, "it will be like electing the editorial board of the *New York Times*: totally establishment—but a whole lot better than *The Weekly Standard*."

WILLIAM GREIDER

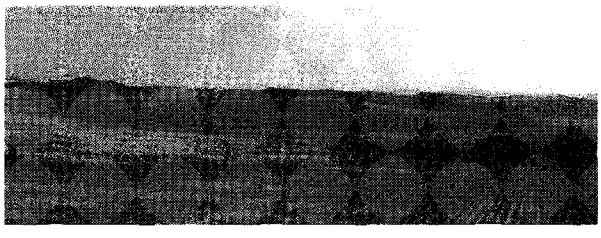
Whitewashing Blair

London

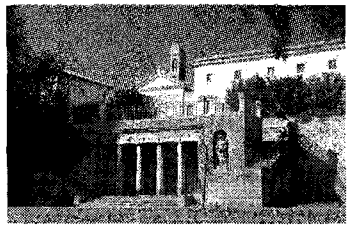
Meteorologists may disagree, but the political weather in Britain almost always comes from the United States. So it could hardly have been more fitting that just as the first flakes of winter were starting to fall here, the British government's conduct in going to war in Iraq was also buried under a thick blanket of white. When Lord Hutton opened public hearings into the death of Dr. David Kelly, the British expert on Iraqi chemical and biological weapons, back in August, the former Chief Justice of Northern Ireland said his inquiry was "not a trial conducted between interested parties who have conflicting cases to advance." But his report, issued on January 28, went well beyond acquitting Prime Minister Tony Blair and his former spokesman, Alastair Campbell, of knowingly taking Britain into war on false premises. Hutton's finding that the government had not "sexed up" its dossier on Iraqi weapons, and that the BBC had been wrong to suggest otherwise, gave a huge boost to a government that only a day earlier had come within five

(Continued on Page 22)

Comune di Castelnuovo Berardenga



Castelnuovo Berardenga: an enchanting Chianti village and a laboratory for sustainable living. Share this experience with us!



Castelnuovo Berardenga is a Tuscan medieval village, 1 hour from Florence and 10 minutes from Siena, located in Chianti. For 3000 years, this amazing territory, made of villages, farmhouses and castles, has harmoniously combined environment, history and culture. Wine and olive oil of this land are world-famous. **In 1999 Castelnuovo joined Agenda 21, the UN Action Plan for citizens participation and sustainable development.** Here are the highlights:

- architectural, historical and natural-heritage protection; safeguarding of landscape, ancient roads and forests;
- citizen involvement in territory-planning decisions; school teaching focused on environmental and healthy food education;
- recycling by bicycle, local volunteers keeping country roads clean.

Castelnuovo also joined **Hydrogen Cities Manifesto**, for hydrogen-based economy researched by Jeremy Rifkin. This goal has been reached joining **Slow Cities International Network** – for more human-centered and environmental living - while following the **Slow Food philosophy** - to rediscover local products.

In Castelnuovo the **magnificent Villa Chigi** (1800), recently restored, is now an international center for environmental studies.

- **Come to** Castelnuovo, to our farmhouses, hotels and restaurants. Enjoy slow life and slow food, because life deserves to be savored, not hurried through. Learn to appreciate the true taste of food. Attend our cooking schools.
- **Come to** Castelnuovo Villa Chigi for your overseas seminars, conventions, cultural courses, with your friends, colleagues, students. Experience Villa Chigi facilities.

Share sustainable development with us. Castelnuovo will help organize your stay.

Contact names for further information
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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

McNamara: The Sequel

Apparently to McNamara's mortification, Errol Morris, whose film *The Fog of War* I discussed in my last column here, passes over his subject's thirteen-year stint running the World Bank, whither he was dispatched by LBJ, Medal of Freedom in hand. McNamara brandishes his bank years as his moral redemption, and all too often his claim is accepted by those who have no knowledge of the actual, ghastly record.

No worthwhile portrayal of McNamara could possibly avoid his performance at the World Bank, because there, within the overall constraints of the capitalist system he served, he was his own man. There was no LeMay, no LBJ issuing orders. And as his own man, McNamara amplified the blunders, corruptions and lethal cruelties of American power as inflicted upon Vietnam to a planetary scale. The best terse account of the McNamara years is in Bruce Rich's excellent history of the bank, *Mortgaging the Earth*, published in 1994.

When McNamara took over the bank, "development" loans (which were already outstripped by repayments) stood at $953 million and when he left, at $12.4 billion, which, discounting inflation, amounted to slightly more than a sixfold increase. Just as he multiplied the troops in Vietnam, he ballooned the bank's staff from 1,574 to 5,201. The institution's shadow lengthened steadily over the Third World.

From Vietnam to the planet: The language of American idealism was just the same. McNamara blared his mission of high purpose in 1973 in Nairobi, initiating the World Bank's crusade on poverty. "The rich and the powerful have a moral obligation to assist the poor and the weak." The result was disaster, draped, as in Vietnam, with obsessive secrecy, empty claims of success and mostly successful efforts to extinguish internal dissent.

At McNamara's direction the bank would prepare five-year "master country lending plans," set forth in "country programming papers." In some cases, Rich writes, "even ministers of a nation's cabinet could not obtain access to these documents, which in smaller, poorer countries were viewed as international decrees on their economic fate."

Corruption seethed. Most aid vanished into the hands of local elites, who very often used the money to steal the resources—pasture, forest, water—of the very poor whom the bank was professedly seeking to help.

In Vietnam, Agent Orange and napalm. Across the Third World, the bank underwrote "Green Revolution" technologies that the poorest peasants couldn't afford and that drenched land in pesticides and fertilizer. Vast infrastructural projects such as dams and kindred irrigation projects drove the poor from their lands, from Brazil to India.

It was the malign parable of "modernization" written across the face of the Third World, with one catastrophe after another prompted by the destruction of traditional rural subsistence economies. The "appropriation of smaller farms and common areas," Rich aptly comments, "resembled in some respects the enclosure of open lands in Britain prior to the Industrial Revolution—only this time on a global scale, intensified by…Green Revolution agricultural technology." As an agent of methodical destruction, McNamara should be ranked among the top tier earth-wreckers of all time.

Back in 1994 (you can find the remarks on page 409 of my *The Golden Age Is in Us*) I had a conversation with Noam Chomsky, in which McNamara's name cropped up. "If you look at the modern intelligentsia over the past century or so," Chomsky said, "they're pretty much a managerial class, a secular priesthood. They've gone in basically two directions. One is essentially Leninist. Leninism is the ideology of a radical intelligentsia that says, we have the right to rule. Alternatively, they have joined the decision-making sector of state capitalist society, as managers in the political, economic and ideological institutions. The ideologies are very similar. I've sometimes compared Robert McNamara to Lenin, and you only have to change a few words for them to say virtually the same thing." True enough. "Management," McNamara declared in 1967, "is the gate through which social and economic and political change, indeed change in every direction, is diffused throughout society." Substitute "party organization" for "management" and you have Lenin.

From "democratic centralism" to bureaucratic centralism. The managerial ideal for McNamara was military dictatorship. McNamara threw money at Pinochet's Chile after Allende's overthrow and at the military dictators of Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, the Philippines and Indonesia. The darker the dictatorship, the more lavishly McNamara rewarded it. He showered money on Romania's Ceausescu—$2.36 billion between 1974 and 1982. As McNamara crowed delightedly about his "faith in the financial morality of socialist countries," Ceausescu razed whole villages, turned hundreds of square miles of prime farmland into open-pit mines, polluted the air with coal and lignite, and turned Romania into one vast prison, applauded by the bank in a 1979 economic study as being a fine advertisement for the "Importance of Centralized Economic Control." This same report hailed as "an essential feature of the overall manpower policy" Ceausescu's stimulus of "an increase in birth rates." The reality? Ceausescu forbade abortions and cut off distribution of contraceptives. Result: tens of thousands of abandoned children dumped in orphanages.

In the weeks after Errol Morris's film was launched, McNamara scurried to Washington to participate in forums on the menace of nuclear destruction with the same self-assurance with which he'd gone to Vietnam and Cuba to review the record. In my local paper I read that he and Morris are partaking in a dog-and-pony show at the Zellerbach auditorium at the University of California, Berkeley. "Condemned out of his own mouth" indeed! If Morris had done a decent job, McNamara would not dare to appear in any public place. It's as though Eichmann had started lecture-circuit pillow fights with a complaisant biographer. ■

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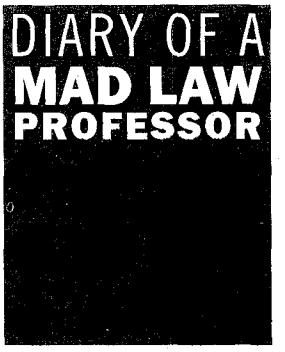
PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Animal Farm: The Republican Version



My Dear Napoleon,

I know that the First Commandment of our great Contract With America's Barnyard says that whatever goes on two legs is an enemy, but this is getting to be a bit much. When our great founding father, Old Major, said we should pick our fights, it didn't seem to me to be exactly the same as saying we should pick fights. I have a plan for a windmill that would let us produce our own energy while greatly reducing our dependence on the two-legs. What say we run it by the electorate at the next Meeting?

Your comrade,
Snowball

Dear Napoleon and Guardian of the Nest-Egg,

Maybe I'm wrong, but didn't the Contract With America's Barnyard promise "zero base-line budgeting"? Our debt to Mr. Pilkington is very, very great, and the stores in the barn will not see us through the winter. I thought a balanced budget was the Second Commandment, but I can't seem to find it written on the wall anymore. My brain is very small. Am I imagining things? Do you think I worry too much?

Yours in revolutionary struggle,
Chicken Little

Dear Napoleon, Father of All Animals,

Since I am only a horse, of course, I had not realized heretofore that "Job Creation and Wage Enhancement"—the Third Commandment of our inestimable Contract With America's Barnyard—was really a faith-based initiative. But now that I have seen the light, I am more of a believer than ever. And I will work harder! I will work harder!

Your obedient servant,
Boxer

O Kind Protector of the Sheep-Fold,

Some of us seek clarification regarding the recent liaisons with every farmer in the dell. Didn't the Fourth Commandment of our sacred Contract used to prohibit us from sleeping in a bed with lobbyists? Since when has it read "not sleeping in a bed with lobbyists with sheets"?

With only the best of intentions,
Lambchop

Beloved Benefactor to All Bovines,

Excuse me for saying so, but whatever happened to Farmyard Values? Perhaps it was not such a great idea to let that sly old Fox take over the news end of things. It's all one hears these days—who's rolling in the hay, who's rolling in the muck. And who's in charge of the Farmyard Commission for closing the barn door, might I ask? When that impertinent show-off bared her udder so provocatively at the Supper Bowl last week, I thought it most demeaning to all of us beasts of the field. Isn't there a Fifth Commandment about our not behaving like drunken humans? Can't seem to locate it on the rule board any more, but then, I'm old.

Begging your pardon,
Bessie

Dear Lord of the Swill-Bucket,

If I may be so bold, you should be aware that there are very disconcerting rumors swirling that Snowball has not really run away to plot in a cave with the two-legs; and that Chicken Little came down with a lot more than just a touch of the bird flu; and that poor old Boxer is not really recuperating at the vet's; and that Lambchop has become just that; and that Bessie is lately a burger. Word has it, and I beseech your generous contradiction, that each was alleged to have stumbled badly and that they have been taken to the glue-boilers, where various of their parts have been rendered, recycled and served up in the feed from which all of us partake. This is not what any of us thought was meant by communion among the species! Might I even suggest that this constitutes a clear violation of the Sixth Commandment that no animal shall devour any other animal? "Without fricassee sauce," as far as I can recall, was neither in the wording nor the spirit of Animalism's original intent.

Very, very, very humbly yours,
Felix the House Cat

Most Supreme Friend of Baby Goats Everywhere,

Please forgive our intruding upon your greatness for so small a thing as this petition, but some of us are hoping you might see fit to make good upon the glorious promise of your "No Kid Left Behind" pronouncement. Many of our kids want so much to learn to read and write. When some of us old goats were growing up, we had so much trouble reading that we could only decipher the first half of the Seventh Commandment: that "All animals are created equal." As more of us have become educated, we have gradually been able to understand the rest of it: "...but some animals are more equal than others." We rejoice in the pursuit of that greater equality.

Blessings upon you,
Billy

Dearest Napoleon and Compassionate Foe to All Evil,

It's great to have you making all the decisions—makes all the animals feel so proud and powerful. But me? An enemy of yours? Hasn't there been some mistake? I could be wrong, but even under the human's rights, wasn't there some commandment about having a hearing before being confined to my stall in the dark or condemned to the knacker's? Would love to see the light of day once more. Would love to know what happened. And would love to know just who let all those dogs out...?

Yours in the eternal brotherhood of all boars,
Squealer ■

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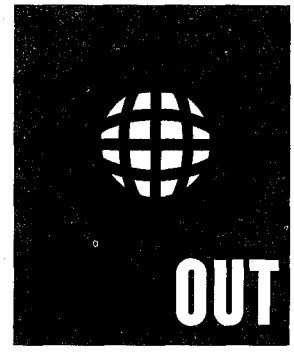
NAOMI KLEIN

Hold Bush to His Lie

If you believe the White House, Iraq's future government is being designed in Iraq. If you believe the Iraqi people, it is being designed at the White House. Technically, neither is true: Iraq's future government is being engineered in an anonymous research park in suburban North Carolina.



On March 4, 2003, with the invasion just fifteen days away, the United States Agency for International Development asked three US firms to bid for a unique job: After Iraq was invaded and occupied, one company would be charged with setting up 180 local and provincial town councils in the rubble. This was newly imperial territory for firms accustomed to the friendly NGO-speak of "public-private partnerships," and two of the three decided not to apply. The "local governance" contract, worth $167.9 million in the first year and up to $466 million total, went to the Research Triangle Institute (RTI), a private nonprofit best known for its drug research. None of its employees had been to Iraq in years.

At first, RTI's Iraq mission attracted little public attention. Next to Bechtel's inability to turn the lights on, and Halliburton's wild overcharging, RTI's "civil society" workshops seemed rather benign. No more. It now turns out that the town councils RTI has been quietly setting up are the centerpiece of Washington's plan to hand over power to appointed regional caucuses—a plan so widely rejected in Iraq it could bring the occupation to its knees.

In late January I visited RTI senior vice president Ronald Johnson at his offices near Durham (down the block from IBM, around the corner from GlaxoSmithKline). Johnson insists that his team is focused on the "nuts and bolts" and has nothing to do with the epic battles over who will rule Iraq. "There really is not a Sunni way to pick up the garbage versus a Shiite way," he tells me. (Perhaps, but there is a public way and a private way, and according to a July Coalition Provisional Authority report, RTI is pushing the latter, establishing "new neighborhood waste collection systems" that "will be arranged through privatized curbside collection.")

Neither are the councils RTI has been setting up uncontroversial. On January 28, the same day Johnson and I were calmly discussing the finer points of local democracy, the US–appointed regional council in Nasiriyah, about 200 miles southeast of Baghdad, was surrounded by gunmen and angry protesters. As many as 10,000 residents marched on the council offices demanding direct elections and the immediate resignation of all the councilors. The provincial governor called in bodyguards with rocket-propelled grenade launchers and fled the building.

Poor RTI: The appetite for democracy among Iraqis keeps racing ahead of the plodding plans for "capacity building" it drew up before the invasion. In November the *Washington Post* reported that when RTI arrived in the province of Taji, armed with flowcharts and ready to set up local councils, it discovered that "the Iraqi people formed their own representative councils in this region months ago, and many of those were elected, not selected, as the occupation is proposing." The *Post* quoted one man telling a RTI contractor, "We feel we are going backwards."

Johnson denies that the previous council was elected and says that, besides, RTI is only "assisting the Iraqis," not making decisions for them. Perhaps, but it doesn't help that Johnson compares Iraq's councils to "a New England town meeting" and quotes another RTI consultant observing that the challenges in Iraq are "the same thing I dealt with... in Houston." Is this Iraqi sovereignty—conceived in Washington, outsourced to North Carolina, modeled on Massachusetts and Houston and imposed on Basra and Baghdad?

The United Nations, now that it has agreed to go back to Iraq, must somehow carve out a role for itself in this mess. A good start, if it decides that direct elections are impossible before the White House's June 30 deadline, would be to demand that the deadline be scrapped. But the UN will have to do more than monitor elections; it will have to stop a robbery in progress—the US attempt to rob Iraq's future democracy of the power to make key decisions.

Washington wants a transitional body in Iraq with the full powers of sovereign government, able to lock in decisions that an elected government will inherit. To that end, Paul Bremer's CPA is pushing ahead with its illegal free-market reforms, counting on these changes being ratified by an Iraqi government it can control. For instance, on January 31 Bremer announced the awarding of the first three licenses for foreign banks in Iraq. A week earlier, he sent members of the Iraqi Governing Council to the World Trade Organization to request observer status, the first step to becoming a member. And Iraq's occupiers just negotiated an $850 million loan from the International Monetary Fund, giving the lender its usual leverage to extract future economic "adjustments."

In other countries that have recently made the transition to democracy—from South Africa to the Philippines to Argentina—this period between regimes is precisely when the most devastating betrayals have taken place: backroom deals to transfer illegitimate debts and to maintain "macro-economic continuity." Again and again, newly liberated people arrive at the polls only to discover that there is precious little left to vote for. But in Iraq, it's not too late to block that process. The key is to confine any transitional council's mandate to matters directly related to elections: the census, security, protections for women and minorities.

And here's the really surprising part: It could actually happen. Why? Because all of Washington's reasons for going to war have evaporated; the only excuse left is Bush's deep desire to bring democracy to the Iraqi people. Of course, this is as much a lie as the rest—but it's a lie we can use. We can harness Bush's political weakness on Iraq to demand that the democracy lie become a reality, that Iraq be truly sovereign: unshackled by debt, unencumbered by inherited contracts, unscarred by US military bases and with full control over its resources, from oil to reparations.

Washington's hold on Baghdad is growing weaker by the day, while the pro-democracy forces inside the country grow stronger. Genuine democracy could come to Iraq, not because Bush's war was right, but because it has been proven so desperately wrong. ■

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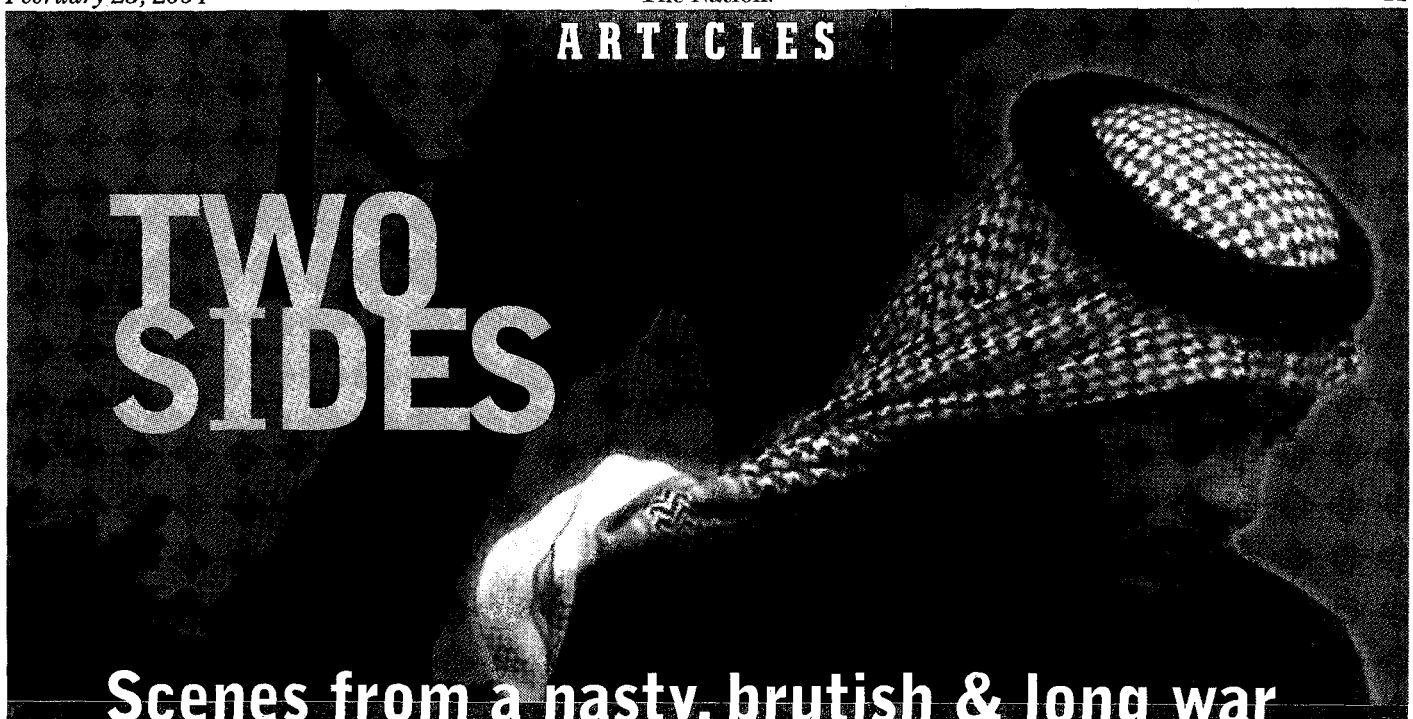
ARTICLES



TWO SIDES

Scenes from a nasty, brutish & long war

by CHRISTIAN PARENTI

The explosion hits just as our omelets arrive. The air shakes and conversation is brought to a stunned halt by the forceful sonic jolt. Two blocks away a small convoy of US Humvees has been attacked by a remote activated bomb, known in military vernacular as an "improvised explosive device." Plastered into a narrow cement traffic median, the IED knocked out the windshields of two Humvees, badly wounded an Iraqi translator, killed an unlucky bystander and wounded several others with shrapnel and concrete.

The next day is New Year's Eve, and the cold night sky is crisscrossed with the gently arcing tracer rounds from bursts of celebratory gunfire. Below, the city is calm but tense. Everyone waits for "something big." It comes as a huge explosion with a dense angry core and wide rumbling echo. Following the path of police cars and an ambulance, several colleagues and I reach the smoldering remains of the upscale Nabil restaurant just as the first medics unload.

A car bomb has killed eight and wounded thirty-five. The scene is Armageddon in miniature. Illuminated by orange flame, the surrounding streets are strewn with debris: twisted metal, broken glass, part of a tweed jacket, a steering rod, half a human foot with toes.

Welcome to the new Baghdad, and to the vexing little war that now grips central Iraq. After a month of traveling to many of the so-called Sunni Triangle's hot spots, seeing the fighting firsthand and spending time with both the resistance and the US military, I am left with the impression that this is a war that will neither end soon nor dramatically escalate. Instead, the conflict seems to have settled into a lopsided and contradiction-fraught stalemate.

On the one hand, aggressive new counterinsurgency tactics—including high-tech surveillance, precision artillery, constant raids, mass detention and the fencing off of whole villages—are doing serious damage to the armed underground. But these same tactics also humiliate and enrage many otherwise pro-US Iraqis, possibly expanding the pool of potential recruits for the guerrillas.

Meanwhile, the highly decentralized and secretive resistance has enough popular support and equipment to continue reproducing itself for some time to come. But the insurgency lacks the ideological coherence or organization it would need to grow into a more formidable force. And its tactics, like the Americans', though at times effective, alienate many war-weary Iraqis.

The Baghdad neighborhood of Adhamiya is resistance country. The graffiti in this heavily Baathist and Sunni area strikes a defiant posture: "Saddam, in our souls and with our lives we will sacrifice for you!" Or, "God protect and guide the hand of al mujahedeen."

The US military considers Adhamiya one of the city's most dangerous sectors. American patrols are regularly attacked here. Two *Time* journalists were badly wounded by a December 10 grenade attack in Adhamiya, and when Saddam was captured three days later, the neighborhood's streets exploded in spontaneous protest.

In Adhamiya I meet Abu Hassan, a former army captain who now imports machinery and funds resistance "operations." He says he might introduce me to some of the fighters.

At our first meeting one of his sons shows up with a pistol. The young man empties the gun's chambers into his palm and shows me the flat-tipped and highly destructive dumdum bullets. Abu Hassan warns me to be completely honest about my identity and tells me to bring copies of the books I've written. "Otherwise some people might think you are CIA," he says with a smile.

Next he introduces me to a well-dressed man who speaks English but won't give his name. The man says he's a former

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general in the Iraqi Army. Over little glasses of strong sweet tea, he holds forth with a torrent of virulently anti-Shiite, hard-core Sunni Baathism.

"The Shia know nothing! The Sunni must govern Iraq," growls the ex-general. But his main grievance is America. "We could not fight their weapons, they bombed us from the sky. The Iraqi Army was very strong, very important. It was very bad when America destroyed it!" The former general is on the edge of the couch, gesticulating, driving home his points with an intense, contained rage. Behind him on a TV screen, a black-and-white Cary Grant chatters away in silence.

For the next meeting, I am given simple instructions: Go to a certain street corner and wait. Someone in a car will pick me up. When the car arrives it is Abu Hassan. He's tense and again warns of the dangers. "If anything goes wrong they will find your hotel and kill you."

By now it is night, and the electricity is out. After a circuitous drive through the dark city we arrive in the cramped and muddy Adhamiya souk; its old streets, crowded with stalls, shops and garbage, are too narrow for US Humvees to enter. There we pick up a man whose face is wrapped in a kaffiyeh and keep driving.

The fighters are less a movement than a collection of shamed and angry men with access to military training, weapons and targets.

The man, in his late 40s, says he was a professional soldier and that he now runs a team of resistance fighters that has launched many operations. He says he is fighting because the war shamed and destroyed a once proud army and because the occupation is abusing and humiliating Iraqis and Islam. The goal of his team, which is made up of "less than twenty" local men, is to "repel the invaders and restore sovereignty."

Does his cell have a name, or is it part of any larger group? He pauses as the car lurches around a corner and then snaps, "We are al mujahedeen," using the general term for holy warriors. "Elsewhere the fighters are called Mohamed's Army. But the names do not matter. We are all fighting for our country." He adds that "our leaders have contact with Saddam's Fedayeen," referring to the old regime's paramilitary terror squads and suicide fighters.

He claims that his team, along with one from al Quds and one from Ramadi, were responsible for recent attacks in Karbala, and that contrary to press reports, no car bombs were used. "Some of our RPGs [rocket-propelled grenades] and small Katyusha rockets hit cars with gas in them and they exploded."

He also claims that the Iraqi resistance had nothing to do with the Nabil restaurant bombing. "We do not kill Iraqis, unless they are military interpreters or spies." And for these "traitors," his team maintains a "blacklist" of names, several of which have already been "crossed off"—that is, assassinated. To bolster his claim about not hurting Iraqis, he points out sites around Adhamiya where there have clearly been IED explosions. "See, there are no shops here, the roads are wide."

It would be very difficult to prove or disprove this masked man's assertions, short of watching him in action. But the man's apparent skittishness, the ubiquitous but discreetly stashed pistols and the grave risk to any Iraqi who would pretend to be a resistance leader together make his story credible.

As for the underground's structure and methods, the man confirms what is already known: The resistance is highly decentralized and kept that way by fear of spies and lack of secure communications. He adds that his group "believes in the ideology of the Baath Party and of Islam" and that it is loyal to Saddam, though it did not take orders from him. When asked how Saddam's capture will affect their war, he says: "We will keep fighting. Our goals are clear."

He adds that his group "has many eyes working inside the police and in the new Iraqi Army." When I ask about new American methods for jamming the frequencies used to trigger IEDs, he says, "We have our engineers; they use the remote-controls of car-door locks and garage door openers and other devices." He says they are constantly finding ways to foil the American military's technology. In light of the recent decline in IEDs, this last bit sounds like bluster.

Ultimately, the meeting leaves the impression of a resistance that is ideologically and organizationally fragmented, with tactics and tools but no clear strategy. The fighters seem to be less a movement than a collection of shamed and angry men with access to military training, weapons and targets.

And the masked man's allegiance to Saddam is not particularly surprising. Some reports in the Western press have portrayed the resistance as anti-Saddam nationalists, contradicting Donald Rumsfeld's assertions that they are "dead enders," loyal to the vanquished regime. But among the fighters and resistance supporters and Sunni in general I talked with, the former dictator is actually quite popular. This phenomenon may be difficult to explain, given Saddam's atrocities, but it is real.

One former Fedayeen fighter I interviewed loves Saddam Hussein despite having been jailed for a month and severely tortured by his police. Now this man is largely apolitical but he supports the resistance in principle (a family member was active but is now jailed, and other kin have stored weapons for the underground). When Saddam was captured the former torture victim wept openly, and in conversation he will defend the ex-dictator to the end.

An hour outside of Baghdad lies the city of al Falluja—*a k a* "the wild west." This heavily Sunni desert region is one of Iraq's most religious and culturally traditional areas. Here, Iraq's large clans exercise considerable power. This is also one of the very worst places to be a US soldier. IEDs and mortar attacks are common, and in the first two weeks of January, guerrillas near Falluja shot down three helicopters.

A series of American units have cycled through Falluja, but since September the city has been the responsibility of a battalion from the elite 82nd Airborne. To see their counterinsurgency methods up close, I have "embedded" at forward operating base Volturno. Known informally among the troops as "camp dream-

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land," the base was once a middle-class resort. Its little bungalows are now sandbagged barracks, and the artificial lake is half empty but still visited by exotic birds. Not all of the soldiers' time is spent lakeside, however; they also take frequent trips to town.

It's a cool late afternoon, and "Operation Dozer"—a large-scale incursion into Falluja—is taking longer than expected, much longer.

"Man, this is turning into a cluster fuck," quips one of the paratroopers. Instead of lasting two or three hours, Dozer has lasted all day. And when the 82nd Airborne spends any extended period of time in Falluja, they get attacked.

The mission is to search houses and bulldoze roadside guardrails and other obstacles used to hide IEDs. Alpha Company has ridden to the edge of town in Humvees that look like sturdy, open-bed pick-up trucks. To stop bullets and shrapnel, the troops have welded thick metal sheets of Amox plating to the sides of truck beds. When that's unavailable they use sandbags and hang extra flak vests over the doors.

As one soldier—who not unlike the people of Falluja is deeply religious—admits, 'There's no nice way to search someone's house.'

At the edge of Falluja the paratroopers dismount and fan out across the trash-strewn desert looking for booby traps, then sweep over the barren embankment of an elevated highway and down into the city. Overhead, two Kiowa choppers skim the rooftops looking for snipers.

Shortly after the 82nd arrived here in September, an IED killed one of its sergeants and wounded seven others, including a thoughtful 25-year-old lieutenant and platoon leader named Matt Bacik. Shrapnel caught Bacik in the side of his buttocks, exited through his right thigh, just missed his testicles and then ripped into his left thigh.

As the somewhat bashful Bacik explains, "I really don't know why my stuff is still there." He pauses. "The holes just don't line up." After two weeks in the hospital the young officer was back at Volturno and within a month back leading missions.

During Operation Dozer I am shadowing Bacik, who is in charge of Alpha Company's second platoon. At times I also follow one of his squads, led by the self-effacing and good-natured Staff Sgt. Chris Corcione.

After searching houses all morning, Bacik and another platoon leader from Alpha Company have moved up to "phase line dagger" and are about to cordon off and search more houses. They're briefing a superior on their progress when all of a sudden we hear two or three loud explosions, someone yells "RPG!" and the air fills with gunfire.

Bacik is running, sprinting as best he can under the weight of a flak vest, ammo and other gear. His young radio operator runs after him. The guns are still snapping away, the assault coming from several directions at once. Bacik rounds a corner and heads onto a narrow side street to link up with his most forward squad, which is closest to the explosions.

"Two-two move up, get those trucks out of the alley," Bacik says to the sergeant in charge of second squad, second platoon. We are a block from where the RPGs hit. When word comes in that some of the shots might have originated from an empty school, Bacik and Corcione's squad move to "search and clear."

Crossing a wide empty lot toward the school, an amplified and fiercely impassioned sermon belts out from the tower of a nearby mosque. If this were a movie the scene would reek of cliché. In Falluja there is almost always some lilting Arabic verse floating in the air, like eerie mood music. And now, during this high-noon-style walk across dusty open ground, some unseen imam is yelling wildly in a language few of the paratroopers understand.

"What the fuck is he saying?" someone asks nervously.

"Oh, you know, 'Kill the infidel Americans, they're over here by the school,'" deadpans Corcione. The school is cleared room by room, doors kicked in, locks sawed off, two stories and the roof searched. No RPGs and no brass shell casings from AK-47 rounds, and no one hiding out. It's back to phase line dagger to search more houses.

During these searches, the paratroopers are not unduly aggressive, but as in the school, they often damage property, and it is clear that the people, particularly the women and children, are humiliated and scared. As one soldier—who not unlike the people of Falluja is deeply religious—admits: "There's no nice way to search someone's house. I think about how if we did this in eastern Tennessee, where I am from, they'd just as soon shoot you as look at you."

Then it happens again, the rapid bomb-bomb-bomb of several RPGs and more small-arms fire. This time an armor-piercing RPG has hit one of the few tanklike Bradleys on the mission and destroyed its engine, but no one is hurt.

Again Bacik, along with his company commander, Capt. Terence Caliguire, and two squads, moves forward. Someone is seen dashing across rooftops. He's trapped. The paratroopers storm in and arrest the shooter, a kid of about 18. For good measure they also round up three men in the house from which the kid fired. Bound and hooded, these guys will likely end up in the vast and terrifying Abu Ghraib prison camp, home to almost 13,000 detainees.

Now it's really late. Several IDEs have been found and destroyed in huge controlled blasts. The longer we stay in town, the more time the resistance has to set up attacks. The paratroopers pull out of Falluja in slow, orderly stages and then, once on the road, make a high-speed dash back to the safety of FOB Volturno, where the only risks are occasional mortar rounds.

During the meeting to go over Operation Dozer's after-action report, which is a meeting of all the platoon and squad leaders, the issues discussed are, not surprisingly, all tactical. The very serious and bespectacled Captain Caliguire runs down the list of what worked and what didn't. Absent from the discussion is the issue of winning over hearts and minds.

"On that front," explains Caliguire later, "we do our best. We treat people with respect and dignity, but you can't win them all. Security comes first. Do people resent the house searches? Yes. But my job is to bring security to Falluja and keep my men safe. And there's not gonna be any reconstruction or NGOs or UN in here if there isn't security first."

Relaxing on his cot, Lieutenant Bacik makes similar points. "I do what I am told. If they want me to build a bridge, I'll do it.

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But now we have to suppress this resistance. We fight with restraint and discipline and concern for civilians, but this is a war."

In short, the 82nd is doing what seems to work best for its specific purposes—"search and attack." That means arresting and killing the underground and its supporters. They use cordon search operations, undercover Special Forces, local spies and information extracted from detainees—who, by the Pentagon's own admission, are subject to psychological torture such as isolation and prolonged sleep deprivation. With its intelligence, the 82nd launches continuous lightning raids in and out of Falluja.

As for the delicate task of winning the people's loyalty, that is up to the civilian-run Coalition Provisional Authority, which so far can't seem to provide jobs, fix the electricity, clean up the garbage or get the oil flowing. In the meantime, the war in Falluja is far from over.

Elsewhere in Iraq, one can find less precise US tactics that at times look like Israeli-style collective punishment. In Samarra I meet the newly arrived Stryker Brigade, named after the unit's special new armored personnel carriers that have high wheels and elaborate medieval looking metal grilles skirting their sides. The cagelike grilles are designed to catch and thus minimize the blast impact of RPGs.

Only three weeks "in country" and the Strykers have lost five guys and two vehicles. One of the nervous GIs, in the middle of a big cordon search operation, confirms what people in Samarra have been saying: Not far away the resistance knocked out a Stryker with a mine. In response, the Stryker Brigade destroyed two homes with bulldozers.

'Any hajji comes near the wire we shoot 'em,' explains a soldier in Awja, Saddam's hometown, which has been sealed in razor wire.

On the southern edge of Baghdad, under a date palm canopy and among the misty winter fields of al-Doura, a town known for its resistance activity, a farmer named Abdel gives a tour of his crop beds. Poking up from the brown stalks are between fifteen and twenty clean, white, unexploded US mortars. One local told a journalist that the military said the mortars would be removed when the farmers handed over resistance fighters. "How I am going to plant these fields?" asks Abdel.

North of Baghdad, not far from the town of Balad, lies the village of Abu Hishma, on a flat plain above a wide bend in the Tigris River. For the last two months, this hamlet of 7,000 has been totally surrounded by razor wire.

After a series of resistance attacks, one of which killed a GI, the local US commander, Lieut. Col. Nathan Sassaman, sealed the village and threatened to deport the residents to a resettlement camp further east if the violence continued. Now the people of Abu Hishma carry special identification cards and abide by a dusk-to-dawn curfew. On top of that, the colonel forced 126 community leaders, family sheiks and less powerful mukhtars, to sign a contract promising that each signatory will submit to incarceration if there is any resistance activity in the neighborhoods under their responsibility.

At the village gate, the mood is one of defeat. "They treat us like Palestinians," complains a farmer, then adds in English: "Sassaman—Ariel Sharon number one." Several Iraqi police are standing nearby but instead of trying to shut down the criticism, join in. "They treat us like dirt. We just take orders from the Americans. The whole thing is ridiculous." Then, breaking into laughter, the cop adds, "Our chief of police is in jail in Balad right now!"

Another razor-wire-surrounded village is Saddam's hometown, Awja, further north near Tikrit. Since the triple layer of wire went up and the residents started carrying new IDs, guerrilla activity has dropped off dramatically.

"Any hajji comes near the wire we shoot 'em. One of our scouts has like fifty-five confirmed kills," explains specialist Keltner, a soldier with the 22nd Infantry who is guarding the checkpoint at the village entrance.

Inside Awja all is quiet, and the few people around seem meek and resigned, but as we leave, the troops at the gate uncover a cache of RPGs. "Fucking Mortar Man!" says a GI, referring to a lone resistance fighter who still plagues them. "This was right on the other side of the berm. They were gonna hit the guard shack," explains the excited soldier.

To find out what the rural resistance thinks of these tactics I visit a farm on the muddy flood plains near Balad. My translator and I are here to meet a group of former—or momentarily retired—resistance fighters. They are farmers, all brothers and devout, ritualistic Sufis.

Sitting on the floor of a cold farmhouse waiting for a lunch of fried chicken, rice and soup, one young man explains: "My brothers and I did many operations against the Americans, but it is dangerous to talk about this. We spent a lot of money on remote controls."

In these tightly knit villages, the resistance seems to be even more informally structured than the networked cells described in Adhamiya. "Sometimes a group of brothers or cousins will do an action," explains the man. "Or maybe someone from Abu Hishma might ask you to help with an action. You'll go to a field and you will find, maybe, some of your friends and maybe other people you don't know." He says that fear and disparate beliefs have kept this network of overlapping "cells" from uniting.

According to this young farmer and his brothers, the guerrillas all have different reasons for fighting. Some fight for Islam, some for Saddam, some just to get the Americans out and some for revenge. These young men seem to have fought for all of the above: They lost their father to an American bomb, they feel humiliated by the occupation, they are intensely religious and a few of them really like Saddam but are not in the Baath Party.

So why have they stopped their attacks in the last few weeks? The man doing most of the talking thinks for a bit, and then, revealing the deep war weariness of many Iraqis, says, "It's hard to fight and kill other people." He adds, "The Americans are very brutal, they are monsters. They have killed whole families and arrested a quarter of the men in this area."

As if on cue, two deafeningly loud Apache helicopter gunships sweep low over the farm. "Last night they were shooting at the other bank of the river," says one of the men.

Just before lunch is served and the political talk winds down, the former guerrilla concludes, "Perhaps the resistance is just resting, waiting to see what the Americans will do next."

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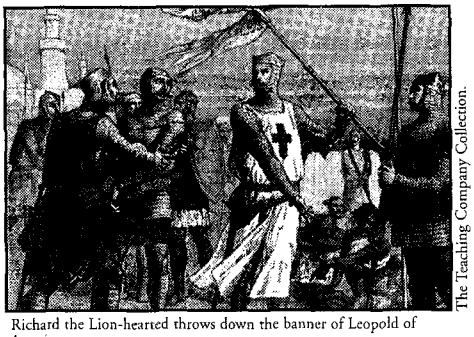

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Back in Baghdad, it is clear that while some in the underground may be giving up, the war is still in full effect. Three truckers working for the Coalition Provisional Authority have been shot and one killed. At my hotel, a colleague mentions that an Arab TV crew from Reuters was almost killed by the resistance, who accused the reporters of collaborating with the Americans. Fast talking and perhaps a little help from Allah got the journalists home safely.

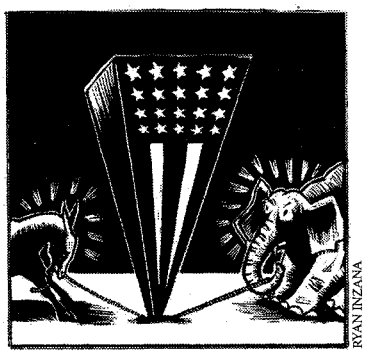
A week or so later another huge car bomb goes off at the aptly named "Assassins' Gate," one of the main entrances to the coalition's fortressed "Green Zone." Racing through a gloomy morning of thick, chilled smog, a friend and I get to the blast area just as American troops are pushing back the first wave of reporters. The bomb has killed more than twenty and wounded sixty. It is the usual hellish scene of gore and wreckage. Whatever party, or cell, set off the bomb has released no statement, made no demands. But the brutal semiotics of the casualties are clear: In addition to three US soldiers and three American contractors, the dead and wounded are all Iraqis who, whether as maids or managers, worked with the coalition. ■

IF ONLY THEY ARE BOLD ENOUGH, DEMOCRATS CAN WIN ON THEIR OWN WEDGE ISSUES.

Free Higher Ed!

MARK DUDZIC AND ADOLPH REED JR.

Commenting on the Democratic debacle on election night 2002, James Carville remarked that the Democrats have to understand that people won't believe you'll fight for them if you won't fight for yourself. It's an insight that Howard Dean, at least, appears to have taken to heart. But is that posture enough to defeat George Bush in 2004? Probably not. It's not just their greater combativeness that has given Republicans an electoral edge. They have been much more adept than Democrats at articulating neat, clean positions and yoking them to a larger social vision that speaks to people's hopes and anxieties and that contrasts sharply with the worldviews attributed to their opponents.



RYAN INZANA

Republicans are so bold, in fact, that it doesn't even matter that the policies they advance to embody those positions do exactly the opposite of what they claim—as in "No Child Left Behind" or Medicare reform to provide prescription drug relief or "middle-class tax cuts." They can count on the compelling nature of the larger vision they invoke, their disciplined insistence on their message, the reality that most people aren't policy wonks who will study the fine print, and the complicity of cable news networks to neutralize opposition.

A key part of this strategy is defining wedge issues that divide the electorate in ways that will deliver a voting majority. A good wedge issue works because it can fasten a broad constituency to an apparently simple program that resonates symbolically with widely shared concerns and notions of a properly ordered society.

For decades now, Democrats have generally confined their use of wedge issues in defense of the remnants of the New Deal social contract and the more recent advances of the civil rights and women's movements. Not since the Medicare debates of the mid-1960s have Democrats attempted to mobilize a national consensus around a new social right that applies to all Americans. It surely is more than a coincidence that during this same time period, the public image of the Democratic Party has shifted from the "party of the people" to the "party of special interests," the label devised by its opponents. It certainly doesn't help that the Democratic defense of those battered programs is often pro forma and concessionary.

Republicans have been so successful at this strategy that the term wedge issue naturally evokes their kind of divisive politics. However, building electoral majorities always boils down to distinguishing interests and mobilizing some against others. In fact, one reason the Democrats have lost so much ground to the GOP is their reluctance to draw sharp distinctions in the electorate, to press an us-versus-them agenda that mobilizes the large majority in support of humane public policy against the narrow interests of corporations and the rich. (Remember how Al Gore backed off in 2000 after Republicans whined that his one tepid populist speech was unfairly promoting class warfare?)

This campaign season offers a real wedge issue that has the potential to reverse this trend for any politician bold enough to see its significance: free higher education. Make every public institution of higher education free for all who meet the admissions standards. No means testing, no service or work requirements, no minimum or maximum ages. Just make it free for all.

Free higher education is a simple idea that has a profound resonance with the shared values of the American people. Recent polls have shown that more than 80 percent agree that a college diploma is essential to success. Seventy percent think higher education is being priced beyond the income of the average family.

And the crisis is already upon us. Higher education has been hit with a tremendous squeeze between rapidly rising costs and diminishing funding. Tuition at public colleges and universities (where 83 percent of all students are) has risen 47 percent for the ten-year period ending with the 2003–04 school year. Last year, it went up an average of 14.1 percent for public four-year colleges

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and 13.8 percent for two-year institutions. Every state in the union raised tuition. Even before this last round of increases, the Congressional Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance reported that by the end of this decade as many as 4.4 million qualified high school graduates will be unable to enroll in a four-year college. Staff and services have likewise been severely cut. Although the states' budget squeezes result largely from economic downturn, the stock-market crash and reluctance to raise taxes, the regressive Bush tax cuts have created a trickle-away effect by justifying reductions in federal aid to the states.

Unlike other needed reforms, such as national health insurance and adequate pensions for all, free higher education does not require a massive redirection of private capital into a publicly administered entitlement. All that is needed to pay the tuition of anyone attending a public institution is the injection of an additional $30 billion to $60 billion of public money. There really is no mystery here. There is no need to create a huge new bureaucracy. The numbers are not complex. Public money already flows into the system from state and local sources. Federal money is committed to Pell Grants, research grants, subsidies, loan programs and a myriad of other programs. If you stir in the cost of several months of Iraqi occupation (or, if you prefer, reinstate the estate tax—rich folks like to endow scholarships anyway) everyone who qualifies goes to college for free!

All that's needed to pay the tuition of anyone attending a public institution is an additional $30 billion to $60 billion of public money.

What could be simpler or easier? What issue could possibly be closer to the consensus view of the American dream? And there are real-world models of successful programs. You don't even have to go to Canada or any other of the twenty-one out of twenty-four OECD countries in 2000 with predominantly public-funded higher education. Millions of Americans fondly recall the time when huge public institutions like the City University system in New York City and the California state system were virtually free for all who met the admissions standards. An even more potent model is the post–World War II GI Bill of Rights, widely regarded as one of the most successful social programs in US history. Its generous benefits (free tuition at public or private college plus a living stipend) returned nearly $7 to the economy and to government coffers for every $1 spent on GIs' higher education.

The Democratic candidates, astute politicians that they are, realize that this is an important issue to the American people. Buried in many of their programs are promises to fulfill the dream of access to higher education for all Americans coupled with a variety of subtle and discrete policy proposals. But nearly all succumb to overly complicating the issue. Only Dennis Kucinich, whose campaign has been declared a nonstarter by the news media and punditry and who therefore can't be heard, has the right idea—free college for all who qualify, period.

John Kerry has an ambitious program to "make four years of college affordable for all Americans." He proposes a tax credit of up to $4,000 for "each and every year of college," a "Service for College" initiative that will pay four years of public college tuition in exchange for two years of service, and a restoration of $50 billion, over two years, of the $90 billion in state budget deficits brought on by the Bush economic policies.

True to his neoliberal roots, Joe Lieberman's "College Opportunity Plan" coupled the carrot with the stick. He would have increased Pell Grants to $7,760 by 2008 and continued to provide "tax relief for middle- and low-income families." The plan would also "focus on results to ensure that students are equipped to get and keep the new jobs of the future" and "demand college report cards." This plan came with a long and somewhat ambiguous time line ("by the year 2020, at least 90 percent of the students with a high school degree go on to the military, college or vocational school"), well beyond any putative Lieberman second term.

John Edwards's "College for Everyone" proposal seems at first glance to have the virtue of simplicity. He calls for one year of free tuition to public universities and community colleges. However, "in return," students will be required to work or serve their communities for an average of ten hours per week. This requirement to work approximately 500 hours per year to cover the average of $4,694 in state tuition and fees for a public four-year institution amounts to an hourly "wage" of $9.39. While this may be a couple of dollars an hour higher than the salaries of most students working themselves through college, it fails to take into account the additional hours they must work to cover their living expenses, transportation and other college costs.

Most perplexing of all is the convoluted and curious proposal laid out by Howard Dean. The "Take Back the Democratic Party" candidate includes the obligatory national service requirements. His tax credit proposals also reflect his concern for public service. Once employed, those paying back student loans can take a tax credit equal to the amount paid back each year in excess of 10 percent of their personal income; people employed as nurses, teachers, firefighters and similar public service professionals would have their tax credit kick in at 7 percent of their salary. In addition, eighth-grade students who agree to "prepare for, and apply to college" would be guaranteed access to at least $10,000 per year of federal and state grants and loans.

What unites all of these proposals is their wonkishness, which makes them all but incomprehensible to the American people. How, for example, did the Lieberman campaign determine that the maximum Pell Grant must be exactly $7,760 in 2008? Why not $8,120 or $7,611? Is this a firm, principled number ("7760 or fight!")? Or a soft number subject to the vagaries of budget negotiations ("The amount was downward-adjusted based on revised negative resource implications of adjusted deficit figures")?

And then there is the tendency to divide the country into those who "play by the rules" and those who don't. This division between the worthy poor and the idle poor has been with us since the days of the workhouse. It was elevated to a high art in the Clinton years. Unlike the children of the rich, the rest of us must prove our worthiness for education by engaging in national service, displaying academic excellence and committing to years of debt service. This elaborate focus on defining subcategories of the population who would be eligible for different benefits

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in different ways does just the opposite of appealing to a broad constituency. Once again, it sets the stage for the right to pit one group against another.

By definition, wedge issues must excite the imagination, or fears, of broad sections of the American people. If you need a calculator to determine whether the proposed solution will benefit you, the issue has pretty much lost its "wedginess." ("Let's see now. If I become a teacher earning $30,000 per year and my loan payments are $4,000 per year, I'll get a tax credit of $1,900 per year. But wait! Under Clark's plan, I would get a $6,000 per year college grant. Ah, but Clark's plan only applies to the first two years that I'm in college versus the ten years I'll be paying my loans. By golly, that Howard Dean is really fighting for my interests!")

The Bushies understand the proper way to use a wedge issue. The Bush campaign won't claim to be saving the American family from the scourge of same-sex marriage by awarding inflation-adjusted tax credits of $217 per year of marriage to anyone who commits by the eighth grade to pursue exclusively heterosexual relationships. No way! They'll be speaking with the voice of God, sanctified by 3,000 years of Judeo-Christian civilization.

What causes grown men and women to turn clear and simple public policy proposals into gibberish comprehensible only to pundits inside the Beltway? This failure of nerve can only be explained as a perverse and self-defeating attempt to play the game according to the rules as rewritten by the Republican right. In this game, social rights are bad. They are now called entitlements, and their continued existence will bankrupt the unborn generations. Only property rights are good and must be expanded and enhanced. Taxes are evil no matter whom they are levied upon so that all new policy proposals must be framed in the language of tax credits or spending offsets.

This desperate desire to appear "responsible" in the eyes of the news-show hosts and op-ed writers who appear to control the doors of public discourse is doomed from the start. As any shop steward can tell you, once you start to bargain against yourself you begin the downward spiral of concession after concession. Your opponents perceive you as weak, and your base becomes demoralized and demobilized.

There is nothing particularly profound or prescient about these insights. The national political discourse of the past quarter-century is an open book for all to read. Certainly the American people have read the book and acted accordingly. Great multitudes have dropped out altogether, declaring a plague on both houses. Others have fallen into an idiosyncratic, "values based" politics—voting for, or against, guns, competing religious visions or the personal behavior of the candidates—as if politics were about lifestyle choices rather than the allocation of rights and resources. Many, thankfully, are still in the game, halfheartedly voting every year or two for the lesser of two evils and hoping it makes a difference.

And the growing power of capital is both cause and consequence of these developments. As grassroots, constituency-based politics withers, big money crowds out all other players. This is where the rules of the game really become rigged against us. Once politics becomes more about mobilizing dollars than mobilizing people, then nothing can be done to alienate corpo-

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rate funders. Thus so many Democrats in recent years have shown more concern for "fiscal responsibility" than defending or advancing the New Deal vision they occasionally invoke.

If there is anything that progressives should have learned by now it is that people don't go to the barricades for tax credits, however precisely they are spelled out. Progressive politics has to be about more than a set of elaborate policy proposals. We must tie our proposals to a compelling social vision. Our narrative must animate voters and inspire those millions who have written off politics as nothing more than a corrupt rich man's game.

And there's another lesson that is of equal importance. History has shown time and again that if progressives don't find a way to bring out the best in people by articulating their common dreams, then many will turn to the nightmare of reaction, divisiveness, racism and jingoism. This is the ugly dark side of wedge issues. It is a side that Karl Rove and company know only too well.

In its arrogance and its hubris, the Bush regime has overplayed its hand and proved its vulnerability. The 2004 elections provide an extraordinary opportunity to be a referendum on what kind of country we want and what its priorities should be. The call for free higher education as a social right could help frame that debate through election day and beyond. ■

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S APPARENT MOTTO: 'LEAVE NO DEFENSE CONTRACTOR BEHIND.'

Making Money on Terrorism

WILLIAM D. HARTUNG

RYAN INZANA

We all know that Halliburton is raking in billions from the Bush Administration's occupation and rebuilding of Iraq. But in the long run, the biggest beneficiaries of the Administration's "war on terror" may be the "destroyers," not the rebuilders. The nation's "Big Three" weapons makers—Lockheed Martin, Boeing and Northrop Grumman—are cashing in on the Bush policies of regime change abroad and surveillance at home. *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman was on target when he suggested that rather than "leave no child behind," the slogan Bush stole from the Children's Defense Fund, his Administration's true motto appears to be "leave no defense contractor behind."

In fiscal year 2002, the Big Three received a total of more than $42 billion in Pentagon contracts, of which Lockheed Martin got $17 billion, Boeing $16.6 billion and Northrop Grumman $8.7 billion. This is an increase of nearly one-third from 2000, Clinton's final year. These firms get one out of every four dollars the Pentagon doles out for everything from rifles to rockets. In contrast, Bush's No Child Left Behind Act is underfunded by $8 billion a year, with the additional assistance promised to school districts swallowed up by war costs and tax cuts.

The bread and butter for the Big Three are weapons systems like the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (Lockheed Martin), the F/A-18 E/F combat aircraft (Boeing/Northrop Grumman), the F-22 Raptor (Lockheed Martin/Boeing) and the C-17 transport aircraft (Boeing). Northrop Grumman is also a major player in the area of combat ships, through its ownership of the Newport News, Virginia and Pascagoula, Mississippi, shipyards. All three firms are also well placed in the design and production of targeting devices, electronic warfare equipment, long-range strike systems and precision munitions. For example, Boeing makes the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM), a kit that can be used to make "dumb" bombs "smart." The JDAM was used in such large quantities in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that the company has had to run double shifts to keep up with Air Force demand.

The Bush nuclear buildup—large parts of which are funded out of the Energy Department budget, not the Pentagon—is particularly good news for Lockheed Martin. The company has a $2 billion-a-year contract to run Sandia National Laboratories, a nuclear weapons design and engineering facility based in Albuquerque. Lockheed Martin also works in partnership with Bechtel to run the Nevada Test Site, where new nuclear weapons are tested either via underground explosions—currently on hold due to US adherence to a moratorium on nuclear testing—or computer simulations. Late last year, Congress lifted a longstanding ban on research into so-called "mini-nukes"—nuclear weapons of less than five kilotons, about one-third the size of the Hiroshima bomb. It also authorized funds for studies on a nuclear "bunker buster" and seed money for a multibillion-dollar factory to build plutonium triggers for a new generation of nuclear weapons. These new investments will be presided over by Everet Beckner, a former Lockheed Martin executive who now heads the National Nuclear Security Administration's nuclear weapons complex.

The Big Three are also poised to profit from President Bush's plan to colonize the moon and send a manned mission to Mars, both of which are stalking horses for launching an arms race in space. Boeing and Lockheed Martin were already well positioned in the military-space field through major contracts in space launch, satellite and missile defense work, plus a partnership to run the United Space Alliance, the joint venture in charge of launches of the space shuttle. Northrop Grumman bought into the field through its acquisition of TRW, a major space and Star Wars contractor. The new presidential commission charged with

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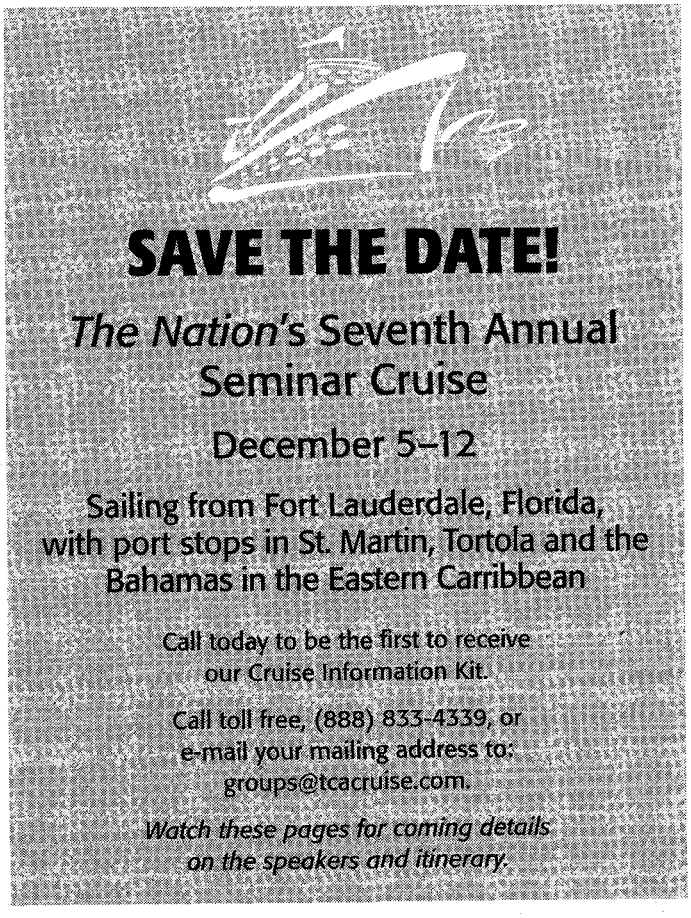
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fleshing out Bush's space vision is being chaired by Edward "Pete" Aldridge, the Pentagon's former Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and a current member of Lockheed Martin's board of directors. Meanwhile, over at the Air Force, the under secretary in charge of acquiring space assets is Peter Teets, a former chief operating officer at Lockheed Martin. His position was created in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission to Assess US National Security Space Management and Organization, an advisory panel that published its blueprint for the militarization of space just as Bush was taking office. The group, which included representatives of eight Pentagon contractors, was presided over by Donald Rumsfeld until he left to take up his current post as Bush's Defense Secretary. Rumsfeld has been dutifully implementing the commission's recommendations ever since.

The Big Three are also wired into numerous other sources of federal contracts for everything from airport security to domestic surveillance, all in the name of fighting what the White House now calls the GWOT (Global War on Terrorism). The $20 billion-plus total that Lockheed Martin receives annually is more than is spent in an average year on the largest federal welfare program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, a program that is meant to provide income support to several million women and children living below the poverty line. Under Bush and company, corporate welfare trumps human well-being every time.

One would think that with the military budget at $400 billion and counting—up from $300 billion when Bush took office—all would be well in the land of the military-industrial behemoths, especially since the Pentagon budget is only one opportunity among many. (The budget of the Department of Homeland Security is $40 billion and counting, and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have racked up $200 billion in emergency spending to date, over and above normal Pentagon appropriations.) Yet in my discussions with industry representatives at the June 2003 Paris Air Show as well as in their recent behavior, I have detected an unmistakable sense of desperation, a sense that even this embarrassment of riches may not be enough to stabilize these massive companies.

On the desperation front, Boeing is head and shoulders above its rivals. After losing the highly touted "deal of the century"—the $300 billion F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program—to its rival Lockheed Martin in 2001, the company took a huge hit to its commercial-airliner business when air travel plummeted in the wake of the September 11 attacks. A bailout was in order, and the company pulled out all the stops to create one in the form of a deal that would have required the Air Force to lease 100 Boeing 767s for use as aerial refueling tankers. As initially crafted, the deal would have cost $26 billion over a decade, $5 billion more than it would have cost to buy the planes outright. Behind it was a group that included Senator Ted Stevens, who used his clout as chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee to insert an amendment into the Pentagon's budget specifically requiring the lease arrangement; Secretary of the Air Force James Roche, a former VP at Boeing's sometime partner Northrop Grumman; Boeing senior vice president of Washington operations Rudy deLeon, a former top official in

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Bill Clinton's Pentagon; and House Speaker Dennis Hastert. Like most pork-barrel projects, the deal was a mix of strategic thinking and self-interest. Roche made no bones about the fact that part of the point was to throw some money Boeing's way so that it would remain healthy. What you and I might call a "bailout," folks in the Pentagon call "maintaining the defense industrial base."

Boeing used every possible lever to get the deal done. It hosted a fundraiser in Seattle for Stevens at which Boeing executives threw $22,000 into his campaign coffers. It enlisted Hastert, who had wooed the company to move its headquarters to his home state of Illinois, to weigh in directly with President Bush. Representative Todd Tiahrt, whose Wichita district includes the Boeing plant that would retrofit the 767s for use as tankers, raised the issue so often with Bush that the President nicknamed him "Tanker Tiahrt." Members from Washington State, home of Boeing's main production complex, also lobbied vigorously. Defense Policy Board member and Rumsfeld pal Richard Perle wrote an op-ed in favor of the deal for the *Wall Street Journal*—but only after Boeing had invested $20 million in Trireme, a Perle investment firm. Boeing sponsored the 2001 annual dinner of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, a neocon redoubt with which Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith was closely associated before joining the Administration. The honorees were the secretaries of the three military services: The Air Force's Roche, Navy Secretary Gordon England (formerly of General Dynamics) and Army Secretary Thomas White (formerly of Enron). The host for the evening was Boeing Washington office head Rudy deLeon.

For once all this influence-peddling may go for naught. The deal is on hold thanks to relentless questioning by Senator John McCain, who has denounced it from the beginning as "war profiteering," and persistent public pressure by good-government groups. The last straw was the revelation that Boeing offered Air Force acquisition official Darleen Druyun a job while she was negotiating the lease deal with the company.

Boeing isn't the only corrupt weapons company; it's just the one that was too desperate for a short-term payoff to cover its tracks. Rumsfeld's preference for industry executives and ideologues of the Perle/Feith variety has created an ethically challenged, politically tone-deaf environment that needs to be opened up to public scrutiny and reform. Some steps are under way. The Pentagon's Inspector General is investigating all Boeing contracts that Druyun was involved in. The Senate Armed Services Committee will hold hearings on the Boeing deal, and McCain has promised hearings on the Pentagon-industry "revolving door."

Much more needs to be done. At the height of World War II, Senator Harry Truman made a name for himself by uncovering profiteering and fraud at companies providing supplies for the war effort. Given the high political and economic stakes in the war on terror, a comparable investigation is in order now. Whether the work is being done in Iraq, Washington or points in between, contracts involving US national security should be opened to true competitive bidding. Profits should be limited, and the books of contractors doing the public's business should be open and available for inspection. Politicians and bureaucrats who are lining their pockets under the guise of fighting terrorism should face criminal penalties, not symbolic fines. The public should demand that all candidates for the presidency and Congress renounce campaign contributions from companies involved in the rebuilding of Iraq, the war in Afghanistan or any of the other far-flung outposts of Bush's war on terrorism.

The culture of cronyism that allows arms-industry executives to pull down multimillion-dollar compensation packages while wounded veterans are shunted into makeshift medical wards has to end. Getting rid of George W. Bush and his gang of neocon profiteers is an excellent place to start. But it's only a start. ■

EXCHANGE

CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

miserable refugee camps." I was quite clear about my support for (not encouragement of) Jewish immigration *inside* the Green Line—the 1967 borders of the State of Israel. This is not occupation but residence.

Bert Dodson likewise implies that I want Israel's new citizens to be absorbed into the West Bank, when I specifically said otherwise.

Orayb Najjar, Jim Creegan and Edmund Hanauer feel the need to rephrase the point I made at the outset about the basic unfairness of privileging Jewish immigration. Nonetheless, I maintain that history justifies the Law of Return as a guarantor of future asylum and a remedy for a past when, in the words of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first president, "the world seemed to be divided into two parts—those places where the Jews could not live and those where they could not enter."

Najjar's use of the innocuous word "regrettable" to describe "historical Jewish victimhood" communicates a dismissive view of Jewish suffering. I associate "regrettable" with a form letter explaining a bank's accounting error, not a serious discussion of the brutal regimes that have targeted Jews.

Creegan recognizes historical anti-Semitism but minimizes the virulence of current Jew-hating. He blames the Law of Return for the rise in anti-Semitism, when it was in fact a *response* to anti-Semitism. Because contemporary negative behavior toward Jews does not approach the egregiousness of the Holocaust does not mean the law insuring Jewish sanctuary should be abrogated. Blacks are no longer kept in bondage in the United States, but no one is proposing we rescind the 13th Amendment.

Hanauer ignores my recognition of the symmetrical Palestinian right of return to a Palestinian state. Clearly, it is "not feasible" for that state to absorb millions of Jews, either. For both parties, this is not ethnic cleansing but rational state-building in fulfillment of UN Resolutions 242 and 338, which, it is important to emphasize, have been accepted by the PLO. Unfortunately, no international forum existed at the time to balance the rights of Native Americans and oppressed Europeans.

His promotional pitch notwithstanding, Russell Robinson fails to acknowledge that the Jewish National Fund has never sold or leased to non-Jews (i.e., Arabs) the state lands it owns or administers. To quote the Country Studies document on Israel in the Library of Congress, "The Jewish National Fund was the operating and controlling agency of the Land Development Authority and ensured that land once held by Jews—either individually or by the 'sovereign state of the Jewish people'—did not revert to non-Jews. This denied Israel's non-Jewish, mostly Arab population access to about 95 percent of the land."

LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 7)

votes of losing on a major parliamentary showdown despite a 161-seat majority. By the end of the week both the director general of the BBC and the chairman of its board of governors had resigned.

How could Hutton disregard so much of the evidence his inquiry uncovered? Not only were there memos from Campbell and Jonathan Powell, Blair's chief of staff, urging changes in the language of the dossier (many of which were adopted), there was also Campbell's diary, with its admission that the government wanted to publicly identify Kelly as BBC reporter Andrew Gilligan's source in the hope that Kelly's outing would "fuck Gilligan." That there were errors in Gilligan's initial story is beyond question. Nor did BBC management help by refusing to issue a speedy correction. But to focus on such matters while ignoring the fact that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction—the Blair government's sole justification for going to war in defiance of the United Nations—have been shown to be nonexistent takes a special talent.

Perhaps the most surprising—and revealing—aspect of the Hutton report is that it was a surprise at all. In the long, shameful history of British cover-ups, few men have come as well prepared to wield the whitewasher's brush. As plain Brian Hutton he represented British paratroopers who killed thirteen unarmed civil rights marchers in Derry on Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972. When the Irish government took Britain to the International Court of Human Rights for torturing political detainees, Hutton acted for the defense. As a judge in Northern Ireland he often presided over so-called Diplock courts, where major crimes are tried by judges alone and where the prosecution is given wide latitude in the use of paid informants. More recently it was Lord Hutton who, during the Pinochet extradition hearings, criticized one of his fellow judges for not disclosing his ties to Amnesty International. When it comes to vigilance in defense of the British establishment, Hutton, as the handicappers like to say, has form.

But if Hutton's conclusions were foregone, the response has been more interesting. *The Independent* left most of its front page white the day after Hutton came out—a gesture of outrage expressed less graphically both by the left-leaning *Guardian* and the right-thinking *Daily Mail*. Parliamentary opposition to Blair, which reached its high-water mark on the showdown over allowing elite universities to charge higher tuition fees, remained feeble. But the media (with the sole, significant, exception of the Murdoch press, whose owner is the BBC's main competitor) were remarkably quick to consign Hutton to history's dustbin. If the backlash against Hutton signals a split between the government and the political class, the public is firmly on the side of the latter. Over half the voters in one poll thought Hutton wrongly cleared the government of sexing up the dossier. In another, the Hutton-battered BBC emerged as three times as trustworthy as the government.

The habit of deference is hard to shake off, as is the habit of regarding Britain's record in Northern Ireland as a historical curiosity. And in secular Britain, supposedly impartial judges have long assumed the sacramental duties of a priestly class, wafting incense and mystification over the brutal exigencies of power. By bringing the whole sordid ceremonial into disrepute, Hutton may inadvertently have done his country, if not his masters, a favor. On February 3, Blair was forced to announce that Britain, too, would hold hearings on its intelligence failures in the run-up to war on Iraq. But any revelations from that process are likely to come out of Washington, where David Kay's candor and Bush's own concession cut the ground from under Blair's previous reluctance.

In the meantime, the best test of Blair's newfound enthusiasm will be how his government treats Katharine Gun, the former British intelligence officer who told the truth about Washington's efforts to rig last year's Security Council vote on Iraq. For blowing the whistle on British collusion in a US campaign to spy on delegates from Angola, Cameroon, Chile, Bulgaria, Guinea and Pakistan—the crucial "swing votes" on the Security Council—Gun was charged in November under the Official Secrets Act. Her American supporters include Sean Penn, Jesse Jackson and Daniel Ellsberg, but here in Britain Gun's ability to defend herself has already been hampered by a government move to prevent her from telling her lawyers anything about her work. Gun, who is pleading a "necessity defense" arguing that her actions were justified to prevent an imminent threat to life and limb, would make an ideal witness for Blair's new inquiry.

D.D. GUTTENPLAN

D.D. Guttenplan writes from The Nation*'s London bureau.*

In Fact...

TERKEL/ROBESON

■ Pulitzer Prize-winning author and *Nation* contributor Studs Terkel, a hopeful 92, will be awarded the Ivan Sandrof Lifetime Achievement Award by the National Book Critics Circle at a March 4 ceremony. Terkel's latest book is *Hope Dies Last: Keeping the Faith in Difficult Times* (New Press). The NBCC is an organization of critics and editors that presents annual prizes to the best books in several categories. *Postscript.* Re keeping the faith: Paul Robeson, the great actor, singer and social activist, who was ostracized during his lifetime as a Communist and denied a passport, has been honored by the US Postal Service with a stamp, part of the service's Black Heritage series.

NEWS OF THE WEAK IN REVIEW

■ Recently, the religiously righteous American Family Association ran a website poll on gay marriage, hoping to troll a landslide of "nays" to show Washington lawmakers. But an electronic worm sneaked into the apple. As of January 19 more than 60 percent of the online respondents said they favored same-sex marriage. The AFA pulled the poll.

THIS WEEK ON THE WEB

■ Manufacturers are moving ahead with plans to equip consumer goods with wireless tracking devices called Radio Frequency Identification Devices (RFID). Critics argue that the use of RFID could enable an omnipresent police surveillance state, further erode what's left of consumer privacy and make identity theft easier. For more, read Simson Garfinkel's online exclusive at www.thenation.com.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

A Tragedy of Errors

The neoconservatives' war has proved a disaster. No wonder they're running for cover.

MICHAEL LIND

AN END TO EVIL: How to Win the War on Terror.
By David Frum and Richard Perle. Random House. 284 pp. $25.95.

About a decade ago, I invented a game with a colleague of mine who, like me, had once worked for Irving Kristol. We called it neoconservative bingo. The idea was that the clichés of neoconservative discourse would be arranged in various combinations on bingo cards: "The World's Only Superpower"; "The New Class"; "The China Threat"; "Decadent Europe"; "Against the UN"; "The Adversary Culture"; "The Global Democratic Revolution"; "Down With the Appeasers!"; "Be Firm Like Churchill." The free space in the center of the bingo card would be "The Palestinian People Do Not Exist" (nowadays it would be "No Palestinian State" or "All Palestinians Are Terrorists"). As you read an essay or a book by a neoconservative, you would check off each slogan on the card in the order in which it appeared.

We never printed our neocon bingo cards. But the neoconservative manifesto by David Frum and Richard Perle, *An End to Evil*, which is more a collection of talking points than a coherent argument, can serve just as well. The United Nations "has traduced and betrayed" the dream of world peace. The China Threat: "Eventual Korean unification will reinforce the power of the world's democracies against an aggressive and undemocratic China, should China so evolve." There are the Neville Chamberlain appeasers and the Decadent Europe theme: "To Americans, [Europe's doubts about the invasion of Iraq] looked like appeasement. But it would be a great mistake to attribute European appeasement to cowardice—or to cowardice alone." There are the obligatory Churchill references—a chapter is titled "End of the Beginning"—and there is this: "We will never cease to hope for the civilized world's support. But if it is lacking, as it may be, then we have to say, like the gallant lonely British soldier in David Low's famous cartoon of 1940: 'Very well, alone.'"

Bingo.

Paradoxically, Perle and Frum happened to publish their manifesto of neoconservative grand strategy at the very moment many of their colleagues were insisting in print that neoconservatism does not exist, and that the neocons have no influence on US foreign policy. Up until the summer of 2003, neoconservatives proudly championed their movement against adversaries on the left and against factions on the right (realist, paleoconservative and libertarian) that questioned the wisdom of invading Iraq. That summer, however, the invasion of Iraq—planned for a decade and carried out chiefly by leading neoconservative foreign policy experts like the Bush Pentagon's Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith—went terribly wrong. As of this writing, more US soldiers have died in the unnecessary second war in Iraq than have been killed in any other US military venture since Vietnam, and several thousand Iraqis have died, with many more maimed (the Bush Pentagon does not bother to count Iraqi casualties). As the enormity of the debacle became apparent, neoconservatives abruptly began avowing their own nonexistence. Not since Stalin ordered the US Communist Party to go underground has an American political faction pretended to

Iraq is only the first stop on the imperial journey promoted by Richard Perle and David Frum in their new manifesto.

Michael Lind, the Whitehead Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation, is the author of Made in Texas: George W. Bush and the Southern Takeover of American Politics *(Basic) and* Up From Conservatism *(Free Press).*

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dissolve itself in public like this.

David Brooks recently claimed in the *New York Times* that only "full-mooners" believe that neoconservative institutions like the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) have any influence on Bush Administration policy because PNAC "has a staff of five and issues memos on foreign policy." But PNAC disseminates the views not of its paid staffers, receptionists and interns, but of powerful Administration insiders like Paul Wolfowitz, Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, in the same way that the Committee on the Present Danger used to broadcast the views of Paul Nitze and Gene Rostow, who as government officials were guarded in their own public comments.

Brooks continued: "In truth, the people labeled neocons... travel in widely different circles and don't actually have much contact with one another." In truth—to use Brooks's phrase—among those who have signed PNAC letters are Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Perle and Robert Kagan. PNAC is run by William Kristol, who edits *The Weekly Standard*, for which Brooks writes, and is the son of Irving Kristol, founder of *The Public Interest* and former publisher of *The National Interest*, who wrote a book called *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*, and is married to the neoconservative historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, William's mother. Norman Podhoretz, the former editor of *Commentary*, is the father of John Podhoretz, a neoconservative editor and columnist who has worked for the Reverend Moon's *Washington Times* and the *New York Post*, which is owned by Rupert Murdoch, who also owns *The Weekly Standard* and Fox Television. Norman is the father-in-law of Elliott Abrams, the former Iran/*contra* figure and former head of the neocon Ethics and Public Policy Center and the director of Near Eastern affairs at the National Security Council. Elliott's mother-in-law and Norman's wife, Midge Decter, like many older neocons a veteran of the old Committee on the Present Danger, was recently given a National Humanities Medal after publishing a fawning biography of Rumsfeld, whose number-two and number-three deputies at the Pentagon, respectively, are Wolfowitz and Feith, veterans of the Committee on the Present Danger and Team B, the intelligence advisory group that grossly exaggerated Soviet military power in the 1970s and '80s. Perle, a member of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board (and its former head), is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and sits on the board of Hollinger International, a right-wing media conglomerate (including the *Jerusalem Post* and the *Daily Telegraph*) controlled by Conrad Black, the chairman of the editorial board of *The National Interest*, which Black partly subsidizes through the Nixon Center. Perle and Feith—both PNAC allies—helped write a 1996 paper called "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm," on behalf of Israel's right-wing Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Perle, Feith and the other US and Israeli authors called on Israel to abandon the Oslo process and to restore martial law in the Palestinian territories long before the second intifada began. Co-authorship is common among the neocons: Brooks and Kristol, Kristol and Kagan, Frum and Perle.

The neoconservatives may not be a vast right-wing conspiracy, but they have collaborated for decades, with almost Leninist discipline.

These are people who, according to David Brooks, "don't actually have much contact with one another."

According to Brooks, "To hear these people [the alleged conspiracy theorists] describe it, PNAC is sort of a Yiddish Trilateral Commission, the nexus of the sprawling neocon tentacles." He writes that "con is short for 'conservative' and neo is short for 'Jewish.'" With this vicious slur, Brooks has now joined Jonah Goldberg, Joshua Muravchik, Joel Mowbray, Robert J. Lieber and other neoconservative writers in accusing all critics of Israel's Likud government and its neoconservative supporters of treating "neoconservative" as a synonym for "Jew." Among those smeared by neocons in this way in the past year are Chris Matthews, William Pfaff, Eric Alterman, Joshua Micah Marshall, Gen. Anthony Zinni and yours truly. When I, the descendant, in part, of Jewish immigrants, exposed Pat Robertson's anti-Semitic conspiracy theories in 1995, Norman Podhoretz denounced me, not Robertson, reasoning that while Robertson was objectively anti-Semitic he could be forgiven because of his Christian Zionist support for Israel, on the analogy of the rabbinical rule of *batel beshishim*, which governs impurities in kosher bread. The most loathsome libel in this loathsome campaign was written by Mowbray: "Discussing the Iraq war with the *Washington Post* last week, former General Anthony Zinni took the path chosen by so many anti-Semites: he blamed it on the Jews.... Technically, the former head of the Central Command in the Middle East didn't say 'Jews.' He instead used a term that has become a new favorite for anti-Semites: 'neoconservatives.'" In *An End to Evil*, Perle and Frum—spontaneously, one can only suppose, as neocons "don't actually have much contact with one another"—repeat the new party line: "Most important, the neoconservative myth offers Europeans and liberals a useful euphemism for expressing their hostility to Israel."

It is true, and unfortunate, that some journalists tend to use "neoconservative" to refer only to Jewish neoconservatives, a practice that forces them to invent categories like "nationalist conservative" or "Western conservative" for Rumsfeld and Cheney. But neoconservatism is an ideology, like paleoconservatism and libertarianism, and Rumsfeld and Dick and Lynne Cheney are full-fledged neocons, as distinct from paleocons or libertarians, even though they are not Jewish and were never liberals or leftists. What is more, Jewish neocons do not speak for the majority of American Jews. According to the 2003 Annual Survey of American Jewish Opinion by the American Jewish Committee, 54 percent of American Jews surveyed disapproved of the war on Iraq, compared with only 43 percent who approved, and American Jews disapproved of the way Bush is handling the campaign against terrorism by a margin of 54–41.

Neoconservatism—the term was Michael Harrington's—originated in the 1970s as a movement of anti-Soviet liberals and social democrats in the tradition of Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey and Henry ("Scoop") Jackson, many of whom preferred to call themselves "paleoliberals." While there was a pro-Israel wing, the movement's focus was on confrontation with the Soviet bloc abroad and on the defense of New Deal liberalism and color-blind liberal integrationism against rivals on the left at home. With the end of the cold war and the ascendancy of the Democratic Leadership Council, many "paleoliberals" drifted back to the Democratic center. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, once spoken of as a possible neoconservative presidential candidate, broke with the movement in the 1980s over its growing contempt for international law and its exaggeration of the Soviet threat. Today's neocons are a shrunken remnant of the original broad neocon coalition.

Nevertheless, the origins of their ideology on the left are still apparent. The fact that most of the younger neocons were

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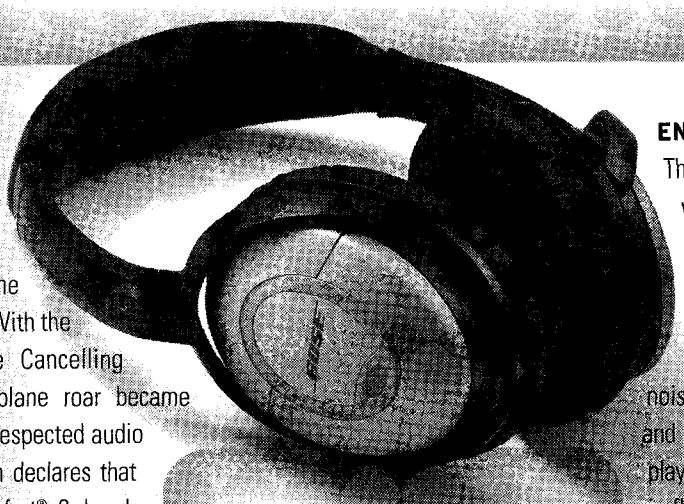

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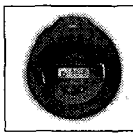

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never on the left is irrelevant; they are the intellectual (and, in the case of William Kristol and John Podhoretz, the literal) heirs of older ex-leftists. The idea that the United States and similar societies are dominated by a decadent, postbourgeois "new class" was developed by thinkers in the Trotskyist tradition like James Burnham and Max Schachtman, who influenced an older generation of neocons. The concept of the "global democratic revolution" has its origins in the Trotskyist Fourth International's vision of permanent revolution. The economic determinist idea that liberal democracy is an epiphenomenon of capitalism, promoted by neocons like Michael Novak, is simply Marxism with entrepreneurs substituted for proletarians as the heroic subjects of history.

The organization as well as the ideology of the neoconservative movement has left-liberal origins. PNAC is modeled on the Committee on the Present Danger, which in turn was modeled on the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a CIA-funded network of the anti-Communist center-left that sought to counter Stalin's international cultural front groups between the 1940s and the 1960s. Many of the older neocons are veterans of the CCF, including Irving Kristol, who with Stephen Spender co-edited *Encounter*, the CIA-bankrolled magazine of the movement. European social democratic models inspired the quintessential neocon institution, the National Endowment for Democracy.

Along with other traditions that have emerged from the anti-Stalinist left, neoconservatism has appealed to many Jewish intellectuals and activists, but it is not, for that reason, a Jewish movement. Like other schools on the left, neoconservatism recruited from diverse "farm teams," including liberal Catholics (William Bennett and Michael Novak began on the Catholic left) and populists, socialists and New Deal liberals in the South and Southwest (the pool from which Jeane Kirkpatrick, James Woolsey and I were drawn). There were, and are, very few Northeastern WASP mandarins in the neoconservative movement, for the same reason that there were few on the older American left, which tended to mirror the New Deal coalition of ethnic and regional outsiders.

With the exception of its Middle East strategy—a subject to which I will return—there is nothing particularly "Jewish" about neoconservative views on foreign policy. While the example of Israel has inspired American neocons to embrace tactics like preventive war and "targeted assassination," the global strategy of today's neocons is shaped chiefly by the heritage of cold war anti-Communism. Neocon hostility to the UN, too often explained solely in terms of UN condemnations of Israel, is a relic of the 1970s and '80s, when the General Assembly was dominated by an anti-American alliance of the Soviet bloc and Third World autocracies. The claim that we are waging "World War IV"—made by Elliot Cohen, James Woolsey and Norman Podhoretz—is a reflex of superannuated cold warriors, as are parallels between militant Islam and secular totalitarianism and the attempt to inflate China or post-Communist Russia into threats comparable to the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

For the neoconservatives, America is the Britain of Winston Churchill and Neville Chamberlain, and it is always 1939.

Not only America's cold war history but the British experience in the twentieth century has shaped neocon perceptions. This is not as strange as it seems. Britain was the leading world power until a few generations ago; many neoconservatives are adult immigrants from the British Commonwealth, like the former Canadian subjects of Her Majesty Charles Krauthammer and David Frum; and many neocon thinkers follow Lionel Trilling (whom Irving Kristol has cited, along with Leo Strauss, as one of the greatest influences on his thought) in looking to British culture to explicate American society. The first modern industrial society, Britain reached its peak, neocons believe, as a result of the combination of imperial ruthlessness, bourgeois (not managerial) capitalism and Victorian virtue. Tragically, however, British strength was sapped from within by the postbourgeois elitists of Bloomsbury, who mocked Victorian values even as the work ethic was eroded by the welfare state. As a result, Britain was morally and materially unprepared to fight fascist totalitarianism. The greatest man of the twentieth century, to judge from the number of times he is cited by neocons, was not Franklin Roosevelt but Winston Churchill, the upholder of Victorian values.

In neocon ideology, the United States is reliving the experience of Britain three-quarters of a century ago. Osama bin Laden (or Saddam or the Chinese leadership or Yasir Arafat) is the new Hitler. Bush is the new Churchill, as Reagan was earlier. Moderate Republicans and conservative realists, as well as liberal Democrats, are the new Neville Chamberlains. The working-class Protestant fundamentalists of the rural and suburban American South are equated with the bourgeois dissenting Protestants of Victorian England. The American university is the new Bloomsbury, full of decadent liberals and leftists sapping the morale of young Americans, who many neoconservatives think should be drafted and sent to fight a series of wars abroad to promote democracy. Four years ago, Donald Kagan and Frederick Kagan (Robert Kagan's father and brother, respectively) published a book called *While America Sleeps*, comparing the United States to Britain in the late 1930s. For the neocons, America is the Britain of Churchill and Chamberlain, and it is always 1939.

Something like what Vivian De Sola Pinto wrote of Kipling in *Crisis in English Poetry* (1968) could be said today of Kipling's admirer Max Boot and most of today's neoconservative imperialists: "There was no Irish or South African problem, only rebels and traitors; there was no aesthetic problem, only wasters and rotters like Sir Anthony Gloster's son who was educated at 'Harrer an' Trinity College' and 'muddled with books and pictures,' and Tomlinson whose sins were entirely literary; there was no problem of war and peace, only foolish liberals and sentimental or knavish pacifists. All the world needed was more discipline, obedience and loyalty, and above all a paternal British Empire with its unselfish and efficient administrators and admirable army licked into shape by perfect N.C.O.s."

Despite its eccentricities, like its un-American nostalgia for British imperialism, neoconservatism, as paleocons and libertarians never tire of insisting, is a movement that shares some of the same values as the center-left. When Richard Perle calls for women's rights in Muslim countries, when David Brooks writes in support of gay marriage, and when *The Weekly Standard* denounces neo-Confederate racism, there is no reason to question their sincerity. Nor is Irving Kristol being disingenuous when he says that the welfare state is here to stay. Straussian elitism does not disqualify the leftist credentials of the neocons. Many liberal and democratic movements have had doubts about the ability of the majority to govern themselves, and have put their hopes in some sort of enlightened elite—Jefferson's natural aristocracy, the technocrats favored by American Progressives, the vanguard intelligentsia of the Marxist-Leninists.

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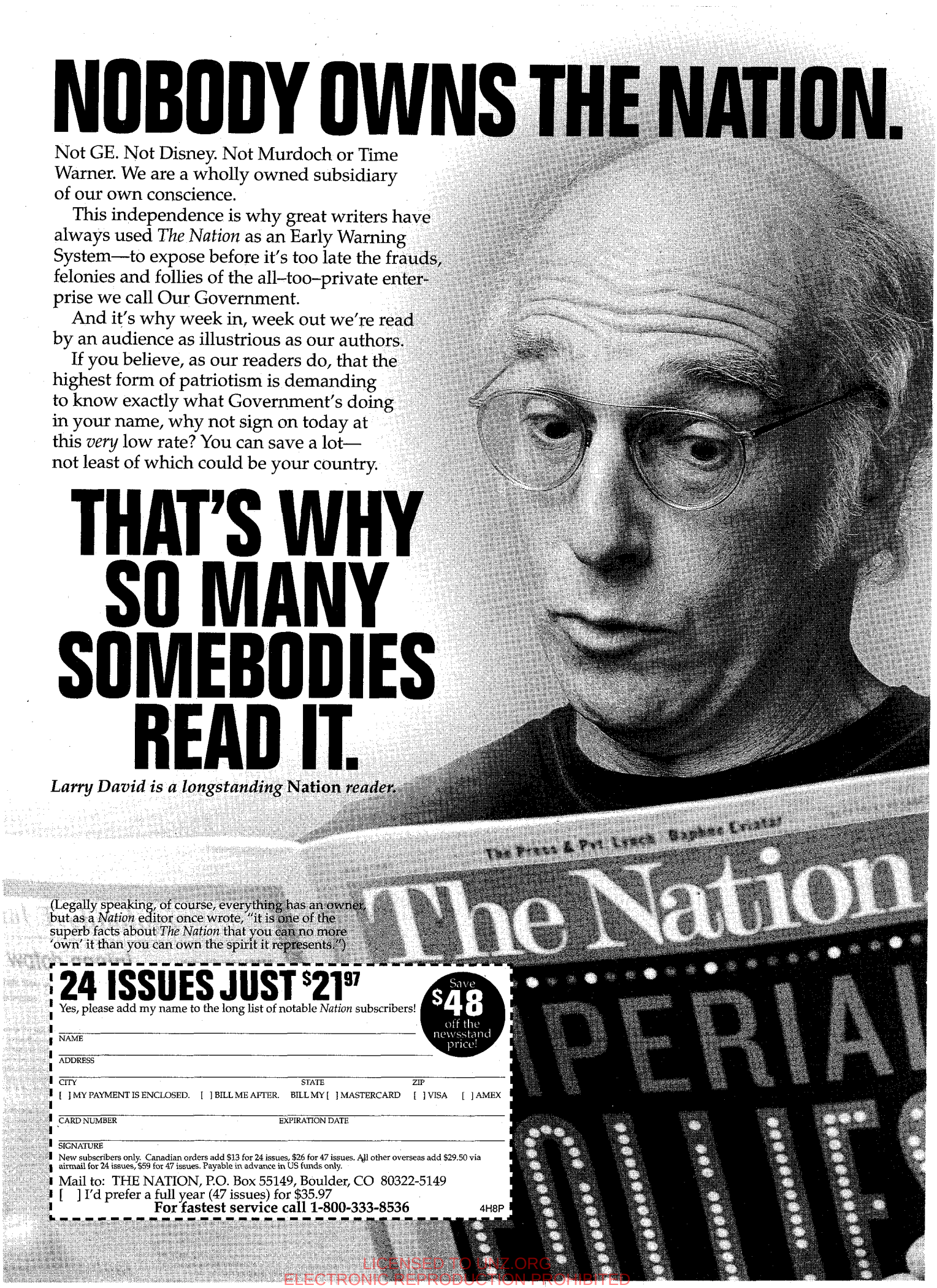

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Imperialism, too, has been compatible with a certain liberal messianism. Until the rise of Third World national liberation movements, some of empire's staunchest advocates were liberals, among them British Fabians and American Progressives. Even Marx was willing to acknowledge that underdeveloped countries like India could benefit from imperial tutelage.

The influence of Marxism is particularly evident in neoconservative conceptions of patriotism. In *The Weekly Standard* of last August 25, Kristol published an essay titled "The Neoconservative Persuasion" (evidently someone had neglected to inform Kristol, "the godfather of neoconservatism," about the new party line that neoconservatism does not exist). Among what Kristol calls "the following 'theses' (as a Marxist would say)" is his claim that "large nations, whose identity is ideological, like the Soviet Union of yesteryear and the United States of today, inevitably have ideological interests in addition to more material concerns. Barring extraordinary events, the United States will always feel obliged to defend, if possible, a democratic nation under attack from nondemocratic forces, external or internal." Therefore the United States should "defend Israel today...no complicated geopolitical calculations of national interest are necessary" (an odd sentiment from the former publisher of a magazine called *The National Interest*, of which I was executive editor from 1991 to 1994). Let us set the question of Israel aside for now, and note that very few Americans think of their country as a version of the USSR with liberal democracy instead of Marxism-Leninism as the official ideology—probably as few as think of American foreign policy in terms of "'theses' (as a Marxist would say)."

A few years earlier in the *Wall Street Journal*, Irving's son William and David Brooks co-authored a similar call for a "national greatness conservatism" in which American patriotism is emptied of all content except for military crusades on behalf of democracy abroad. As far as empire is concerned, William Kristol and Max Boot embrace the "e-word" while Frum and Perle disavow it. But if the nation has value only as the host or carrier of a potentially universal ideology, which must be spread abroad by force of arms and subversion, then the distinction between "national greatness" and "imperialism" disappears—in the case of American neoconservatism no less than in the comparable cases of Soviet Communism and Napoleonic liberalism. This kind of crusading secular messianism has nothing at all to do with conventional patriotism and nationalism, even in their liberal forms. Many Americans have thought of our country as a model for other liberal democracies, but hardly any view our nation as a mere staging platform for a "global democratic revolution," to be promoted by invading foreign countries and arming foreign insurrections where no "calculations of national interest are necessary."

The neocons claim to be Wilsonians, but it's hard to see much of Wilson in their celebration of Kipling-style imperialism.

The distant influence of the Trotskyist Fourth International is apparent, even though the neocons ransack American history in order to provide their movement with a usable past. Max Boot calls himself a "hard Wilsonian," but in his celebration of Kipling-style imperialism it's hard to see much of Wilson, who viewed international law and international organization as the alternative to the militarization of American society that he dreaded, and who is forever identified with national self-determination of the kind claimed by the Palestinians. William Kristol and David Brooks invoke the name of Theodore Roosevelt. But unlike TR's imperial Progressivism, which supported conservation and prolabor reforms, the domestic side of "national greatness conservatism" is vacuous, consisting chiefly of the suggestion by Brooks and Kristol that the United States build more war memorials, perhaps in response to the body count they anticipate from their wars of democracy promotion.

Like Paul Berman, the *maître penseur* of the liberal hawks, many neocons try to enlist Lincoln for their cause. But Lincoln opposed the Mexican War and rejected the idea that the United States had a duty to spread democracy by force. In 1859 Lincoln ridiculed "Young America," who "is a great friend of humanity; and his desire for land is not selfish, but merely an impulse to extend the area of freedom. He is very anxious to fight for the liberation of enslaved nations and colonies, provided, always, they have land, and have not any liking for his interference."

The redefinition of American patriotism as zealotry on behalf of a crusading, messianic ideology is compatible with a disrespect for actual American institutions, which, if it were expressed by leftists or liberals, would be denounced as un-American by neocon arbiters of American patriotism like Frum, a Canadian who bothered to become a US citizen only after he'd served in the Bush White House. Most of the career professionals in the national security agencies—the military, the intelligence community and the Foreign Service—oppose the grand strategy of Bush and his neocon political appointees. Logically, therefore, Perle and Frum want to replace lifelong public servants with presidential spoilsmen. Of the intelligence community they write, "It may be time to bring all of these secret warriors into a single paramilitary structure ultimately answerable to the secretary of defense"—not to mention Deputy Defense Secretary Wolfowitz and Under Secretary of Defense Feith. If the intelligence agencies had already been subordinated to civilians in the Pentagon, then Wolfowitz and Feith would not have needed to do an end run around the CIA and the State Department by creating a new intelligence agency, the Office of Special Plans, which tortured data until it supported the policies advocated by the neocons. While neocon appointees in the Pentagon bring the intelligence community to heel, others will colonize the diplomatic service. Perle and Frum, two former political appointees, write, "Next, we should increase sharply the number of political appointees in the State Department and expand their role."

The ideological *Gleichschaltung* will extend to the US military. The neocons, few of whom ever served in the military, can scarcely conceal their contempt for America's soldiers; Frum and Perle write of "the dead hand of military tradition." (Lieut. Gen. William Boykin, a Christian fundamentalist like so many of Ariel Sharon's American supporters, is acceptable, and has been brought into the Office of the Secretary of Defense to work with civilian appointees Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and Feith.) The career military, so often an obstacle to grandiose neocon schemes, must be transformed into an instrument of preventive wars, argue Perle and Frum: "Will we need to go after a terrorist camp in some remote village in Indonesia? Or raid Syria to retrieve or destroy weapons of mass destruction that may have been sent there by Saddam Hussein for safekeeping? Or strike a decisive blow against a North Korean facility about to produce nuclear weapons for a terrorist customer?"—actions justified, we have reason to fear, on the basis of data doctored by neocon po-

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litical appointees in the US intelligence community.

The new American armed forces will be busy, if Perle and Frum get their way. In the course of *An End to Evil* they call for deposing the governments of Iran and Syria, treating Saudi Arabia as an enemy, blockading North Korea—oh, and let's not forget, France is an adversary, along with "France's pilot fish, Belgium." *Down with Belgium, France's Pilot Fish!*—this is a new addition to the litany of neoconservatism.

If Frum and Perle are to be believed, a great number of US invasions and US-supported revolutions will be necessary to bring democracy to countries that now lack it: "Kofi Annan complained in July 2003 that democracy cannot be imposed by force. Really?" Annan is a better historian than Perle and Frum. The record is clear—most of the democratic transitions that have taken place in the world in the past two centuries have had nothing to do with foreign military intervention or military pressure, while most US military interventions abroad have left dictatorship, not democracy, in their wake. The two cases that neocons constantly return to, Germany and Japan, are among the few cases where democracy has been restored (not created ex nihilo) as the result of a US invasion. The Soviet bloc democratized itself from within in the 1990s, even though the United States did not bomb Moscow, impose a martial-law governor on the Poles or imprison former Hungarian Communist officials without charges in barbed-wire camps. In Latin America, Mexico became a multiparty democracy instead of a one-party dictatorship without US Marines posing for photos in the presidential mansion in Mexico City, and it was not necessary for American soldiers to kill tens of thousands of Argentines, Chileans and Brazilians for democracy to take root in those countries.

One must hope that American soldiers leave behind a functioning democracy in Iraq—rather than the dysfunctional autocracies and kleptocracies that were the legacy of US military occupations in the Philippines, Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti and Mexico. But it is likely that, if and when liberal democracy comes to the Muslim world in general and to the Arab world in particular, the gradual, largely bloodless transition will resemble those in Soviet Europe and Latin America and will not be the result of US military action or intimidation. The neocons—and the humanitarian hawks on the left—are simply wrong about how best to spread democracy.

The global strategy of the neocons, then, is not ethnic but ideological, a crusade in the name of democracy. But the neoconservatives who support Israel's illiberal Likud Party, and Likud's American allies, the Protestant Christian Zionists of the Southern religious right, contradict their own professed principles.

In theory, neoconservative ideology is more compatible with Israeli post-Zionism than with either the Labour Zionist or Revisionist Zionist forms of Israeli ethnic nationalism. The neocons are always denouncing American "paleoconservatives" for claiming that US nationality must be founded on race (Caucasian) or religion (Christianity)—and yet they defend Israeli politicians and thinkers whose blood-and-soil nationalism is even less liberal than the "Buchananism" the neocons denounce in the US context.

The neoconservatives' belief in liberal universalism has not prevented them from defending blood-and-soil nationalism in Israel.

In the pages of *The Weekly Standard*, David Brooks made the astonishing argument that the United States, a Lockean liberal democracy, must defend Israel, another Lockean liberal democracy, against illiberal Palestinian nationalism. The idea that Israeli identity has nothing to do with blood-and-soil nationalism might hearten post-Zionist proponents of Israel as "a state of all its citizens" (not to mention Israel's 1 million Palestinian citizens) but will come as news to Labour Zionists as well as to the Likud, National Religious and Shas parties in Sharon's governing coalition.

Unlike Brooks, Douglas Feith does not lie about the nature of Israeli nationalism. In an address he delivered in Jerusalem in 1997 titled "Reflections on Liberalism, Democracy and Zionism," written before he became the third-most-powerful official in the Pentagon, Feith denounced "those Israelis" who "contend that Israel like America should not be an ethnic state—a Jewish state—but rather a 'state of its citizens.'" Feith argued that "there is a place in the world for non-ethnic nations and there is a place for ethnic nations." Feith's theory, unlike that of Brooks, permits pro-Likud neocons to preach postethnic universalism for the United States and blood-and-soil nationalism for Israel. While solving one problem for the neoconservative movement, Feith creates others. He legitimizes identity politics, which the neocons despise—how can one justify Israel-centered Jewish ethnoracial nationalism while denouncing Afrocentrism or the sinister neo-Nazi idea of an "Aryan-German" or "Nordic" diaspora in the United States? Even worse, Feith's theory seems to endorse the false claim of anti-Semites that Jews are essentially foreigners in the nations in which they are born or reside. Indeed, according to the Jabotinskyite ideology shared by Sharon, Netanyahu and many (not all) of their neocon allies, there are only two kinds of Jews in the world: Israelis and potential Israelis. For generations, many if not most Jewish Americans have rejected this illiberal conception.

A related contradiction is the ever-deepening alliance of the neocons with the Likud's major supporters in the American electorate, the Protestant ayatollahs of the Bible Belt, which inspired Irving Kristol, William Kristol and Norman Podhoretz to open their magazines to religious-right tirades against abortion rights, gay rights, gun control and—my personal favorite—"Darwinism." This apertura to Southern Christian fundamentalism—the opposite of everything that neoconservatism defined as "paleoliberalism" once stood for—led to my departure and that of several other former neoconservatives. We thought we had joined an antitotalitarian liberal movement, not an alliance of American Likudniks and born-again Baptist creationists brought together to support the colonization of "Samaria" and "Judea" by right-wing Jewish settlers.

Neoconservatism—that is, hawkish paleoliberalism—was hijacked by elite American supporters of the Likud, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and their Christian allies, long before the neocons, temporarily, perhaps, hijacked US foreign policy under the second Bush. I can attest that there are neoconservatives, including Jewish neoconservatives, who don't share a love affair with the Likud, but if they said so in public their careers in the movement would end.

The warping of an ideological movement by the ethnic, religious or regional biases of its leaders is not uncommon. For example, there was nothing innately Catholic or even Christian about William F. Buckley Jr.'s "movement conservatism," which attracted many Protestants, Jews and secularists. Nevertheless, the Buckley circle was heavily Catholic and included his brother-in-law Brent Bozell, an American follower of Spanish Carlism (the Carlists were the Catholic answer to the American Likudniks). In the same

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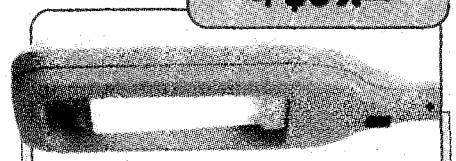

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way that criticizing the Likud Party is a bad career move if you are a contemporary Jewish or non-Jewish neoconservative who doesn't see why Israel shouldn't be a "state of all its citizens" like the United States, so it was not a good idea in the 1950s and '60s to criticize General Franco's Spain if you were a *National Review* conservative.

The cynical way in which the Bush Administration lied to Congress and the American people to justify an invasion of Iraq planned years before September 11, 2001, by Wolfowitz and many of his PNAC allies came as no surprise to me, a former neocon. In an anthology titled *The Fettered Presidency* published by the American Enterprise Institute in 1989, Irving Kristol wrote that "if the president goes to the American people and wraps himself in the American flag and lets Congress wrap itself in the white flag of surrender, the president will win.... The American people had never heard of Grenada. There was no reason why they should have. The reason we gave for the intervention—the risk to American medical students there—was phony but the reaction of the American people was absolutely and overwhelmingly favorable. They had no idea what was going on, but they backed the president. They always will."

But too much can be made of the mendacity of the neocons. The influence of Leo Strauss's teachings about the need for the "philosophers" to conceal the truth from the masses can be exaggerated. The conviction on the part of neocons of their own rectitude may be sufficient, in their minds, to justify deception of the public in matters like Iraq's nonexistent threat to the United States. After all, they are waging World War IV against—well, against whomever—a revived Russia this year, China the next, and the next year a vague "Islamist" threat that somehow contains anti-Islamist Baathists and secular Palestinians along with Osama bin Laden. In their own minds, the neocons are Churchillian figures, a heroic minority who, as they battle a generic "totalitarianism" of which radical Islam is the latest manifestation, are handicapped by cowardly establishment "appeasers" and purveyors of a decadent "adversary culture" among the "new class" in the academy and the media. I don't doubt that many leading neocons sincerely wanted to believe that there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, that the Iraqi masses would embrace Ahmad Chalabi as their de Gaulle, that there would be a democratic domino effect in the Middle East, bringing pro-Israel and pro-American secularists to power. Now that they have been proven wrong, at enormous cost in American and Iraqi life, they are disoriented. Instead of acknowledging and taking responsibility for their catastrophic failure, they are desperately trying to avoid blame.

Unfortunately for them, a political ideology can fail in the real world only so many times before being completely discredited. For at least two decades, in foreign policy the neocons have been wrong about everything. When the Soviet Union was on the verge of collapse, the hawks of Team B and the Committee on the Present Danger declared that it was on the verge of world domination. In the 1990s they exaggerated the power and threat of China, once again putting ideology ahead of the sober analysis of career military and intelligence experts. The neocons were so obsessed with Saddam Hussein and Yasir Arafat that they missed the growing threat of Al Qaeda. After 9/11 they pushed the irrelevant panaceas of preventive war and missile defense as solutions to the problems of hijackers and suicide bombers.

They said Saddam had WMDs. He didn't. They said he was in league with Osama bin Laden. He wasn't. They predicted that no major postwar insurgency in Iraq would occur. It did. They said there would be a wave of pro-Americanism in the Middle East and the world if the United States acted boldly and unilaterally. Instead, there was a regional and global wave of anti-Americanism.

David Brooks and his colleagues in the neocon press are half right. There is no neocon network of scheming masterminds—only a network of scheming blunderers. As a result of their own amateurism and incompetence, the neoconservatives have humiliated themselves. If they now claim that they never existed—well, you can hardly blame them, can you? ■

A Faithful Servant

IAN WILLIAMS

MADAM SECRETARY. By Madeleine Albright. Miramax. 562 pp. $27.95.

Most Americans take their system of government for granted, as if Moses himself had delivered the Constitution engraved on marble tablets. However, for outsiders, apart from the circus of primaries and the system of institutionalized bribery and corruption that passes for campaign finance, perhaps its strangest anomaly is the Cabinet, which, unlike in a parliamentary system, contains people who may never have been elected to any public office. Like the hereditary principle, this arrangement occasionally throws up outstanding incumbents, but as generations of Windsors and Hapsburgs proved, they are the exception.

Reading *Madam Secretary*, one is forced to the conclusion that Madeleine Albright is no such exception to the rule. Before she joined the Clinton Cabinet, initially as US ambassador to the United Nations, Albright's highest elected office was to the board of the Beauvoir School—a private establishment catering to the first three grades, affiliated with the National Cathedral in Washington. One suspects that it was not a contested election, but it certainly was a good place for an uncertain *arriviste* with social and political ambitions to network with the capital's elite.

A desire for social respectability has always been intense in Albright, a former Catholic who became an Episcopalian after marrying into money, and who long suffered from a curiously convenient amnesia about her Jewish relatives. Her claim never to have heard or suspected that her family died in the Holocaust and her belated public acknowledgment of her Jewish origins are thoroughly unconvincing. But then she was dealing with real politics. In his bean-counting mode, Bill Clinton had lots of Jews but not many women in his Cabinet, and it could actually have tipped the balance against her appointment.

A noticeable aspect of her memoirs is the convenient lacunae whenever she tries to cover her own rear and secondly Bill Clinton's—and she does often. But her prejudices come through loud and clear. As the child of Czech refugees, she had more justification than most for her reflexive anti-Communism and perhaps even for her

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Eurocentrism, which accounts for her enthusiasm for intervention in the Balkans and her absolute (and carefully skirted) scuppering of any intervention in, say, Rwanda.

It is true, as Albright has argued, that sometimes the American liberal school of foreign policy really does forget the big stick that Teddy Roosevelt advised should accompany soft talk. One need only look at Jimmy Carter's redemptive embrace of every bloodthirsty tyrant as soon as an ultimatum matures. But the other wing of Democratic foreign policy, the Scoop Jackson school, is based on a visceral anti-Communism, often tinged with uncritical support for Israel. Its difference from the official Republican version of the same has been that it is more cosmopolitan and less isolationist—and often more ideological. A pragmatic Republican like Bob Dole saw no reason for Kansas grain farmers to suffer because some of the East Coast policy-makers had a feud with Moscow and wanted sanctions.

Madeleine Albright's problem was that she was working with the wrong President. Her ideological roots made her strident and tough-talking, but Clintonian caution meant that her tough talk was usually backed up by only the tiniest and most detumescent of sticks. Ironically, Albright tried to spur Colin Powell into committing the US military and met far more resistance from him than he has offered to the hawks in the Pentagon since he succeeded to her position.

But then Powell told her, with unwitting prescience, "we do deserts," not mountains. In fact, it is during the Clinton Administration that we saw the consolidation of the present Pentagon lock on American foreign policy. Luckily, the actual generals were aggressive only about their budgets then—and even now it is the civilians in the Pentagon who are the militarists. But you will search in vain for Albright's explanations for Clinton's opposition to the treaties on landmines, child combatants and the International Criminal Court, and its countenancing abrogation of the ABM treaty and investment in Star Wars, all motivated by its preparedness to throw overboard its liberal principles to feed the conservative crocodiles in the Pentagon and Congress.

Reading Albright, one quickly understands why British Prime Minister Tony Blair saw Bush's foreign policy as a continuation of Clinton's. Clinton was more prepared than Bush to use multilateral means—what Albright called "assertive multilateralism." But policy decisions in both cases were made exclusively in Washington, based on the current Administration's conceptions of US interests.

Both Clinton and Bush (and of course Albright) regarded the UN and a multilateral system as an expedient tool to be used or disregarded as needed. Albright recalls that Clinton "shared with me his enthusiasm for making the UN more effective." Here, of course, "effective" actually means responsive to American wishes, in the same way that the organization's refusal to give carte blanche to the current Administration's invasion of Iraq led so many pundits to write its epitaph.

In any case, a lot of dead people in the Balkans and Rwanda could legitimately question the way the shared enthusiasm of Clinton and Albright worked. "In Somalia we tried to do too much. In Rwanda we did too little. In Haiti and Bosnia, after false starts, we eventually got it right."

As she herself admits, in Somalia the United States ignored UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's advice to disarm the warlords and conducted a military operation without even telling local UN commanders, who then had to rescue them. Of course, Boutros-Ghali suffered the fate of those who have the temerity to emulate the little boy who tells the emperor how his wardrobe really looks. As we see now with Iraq, being proven entirely correct does not provide an amnesty from imperial displeasure.

In Haiti and Bosnia, untold thousands died and suffered while the Clinton Administration dithered. In the former Yugoslavia, the US-imposed solution left the *génocidaires* in control of lands they had ethnically cleansed. And in Rwanda, Albright herself stopped the Security Council from reinforcing in any way the beleaguered peacekeeping force. Admittedly, many other members were happy to hide behind her callous invocation of Presidential Decision Directive 25.

She disingenuously explains this as "establishing criteria" to make UN peacekeeping "more successful abroad and supportable at home." This is not simply evasion; it is blatant falsification. In the interpretation that she used over Rwanda, PDD-25 committed the United States to using its veto against any UN peacekeeping force that did not positively advance US interests. The document, still officially secret, was more about pandering to the Jesse Helms brigade in Washington than a sober consideration of Washington's multilateral responsibilities. As Wisconsin Congressman David Obey said at the time, PDD-25's restrictions were intended to meet the American need for "zero degree of involvement, and

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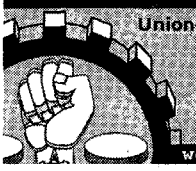
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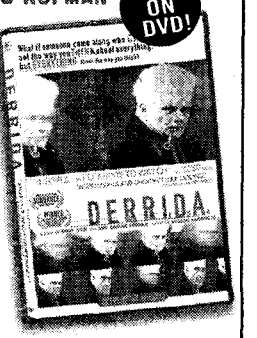

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zero degree of risk, and zero degree of pain and confusion," which could almost be a definition of Clintonian triangulation as applied to external affairs.

Since PDD-25 did have to cope with reality, it allowed that occasionally US troops may come under foreign control, so it failed on the pandering front, and the loony right still sees it as an instrument of surrender of US sovereignty. It was thus in its way archetypically Clintonian, in that the President pandered himself into a policy pillory where his domestic enemies could still throw garbage at him.

A useful corrective to Albright's retrospectively Panglossian evasions is Samantha Power's *"A Problem From Hell"*, which details the Clinton Administration's squirming to avoid admitting the genocide that it knew was happening in Rwanda, and Albright's work in insuring that neither the UN nor the United States became involved. Albright claims to be "struck by the lack of information" about the killings in the first week. Apparently she did not read the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, Human Rights Watch reports or, Power points out, the report of a reconnaissance team of US Special Forces, who came back "white as ghosts," at the scale of slaughter.

To be fair, Albright did fight within the Administration over its supine responses, but if one wants to find out what happened in Rwanda, Power is the source to consult, not Albright's self-justifying evasions. Equally, on many issues Albright is indeed aware of the contortions of Clinton's foreign policy, as he sought to juggle the demands of the military and of the conservative right at home while living up to his commitments to allies abroad. As she describes it, this incoherent approach reached its nadir in Bosnia, where Clinton had promised non-involvement of US troops—about the only threat that Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic feared—but had pledged them as cover if the NATO allies decided to retreat, thus abandoning the Bosnians to their fate.

Perhaps Albright's best legacy is her support for the appointment of Kofi Annan as UN Secretary General. Still, one wonders what her reaction would have been to his temerity in suggesting that Washington broke international law in Iraq if he had done so on her watch! But her reasons for vetoing Boutros-Ghali were neither selfless nor sensible. "He is not committed to, or capable of achieving, our urgent reform goals," she quotes herself. In fact, on the organizational side, he had done almost everything that the American government wanted, such as appointing US nominees to look after management and finances, despite the complete lack of reciprocation as America withheld its dues. However, in his arrogance, Boutros-Ghali had assumed that the job of a Secretary General is to represent the UN, not the White House.

The veto was typical of the Clinton Administration, which she represented so faithfully, and it helped build resentment against US unilateralism, which had repercussions when the time came for the Kosovo war, and indeed right up to now. It was in fact an interesting precursor of the Bush position on Iraq. Having totally failed to win support diplomatically from the rest of the world, she went ahead and used the US veto to achieve the unilateral result. And it still took poor Kofi Annan several years to get any significant portion of the dues paid off.

For all her criticisms of George W. Bush's unilateralism, Albright would have been much happier working with him than with Clinton.

Albright had convinced Clinton that deposing Boutros-Ghali was necessary to get Congress to approve Washington's dues payments to the UN. In fact, despite her denials, it had more to do with her pre-emptively placating Senator Helms—which paid off when she was one of the few Clinton nominees to glide through the Senate on a fast-track confirmation.

Depending on your gullibility/cynicism index, Albright's courtship of Helms was either good practical politics or outrageous pandering to insure her smooth confirmation. "He was...known for his southern courtliness, especially towards women," she purrs. She forgets that Helms's courtliness included such Klannish behavior as declaring, "I'm going to sing 'Dixie' until she cries" when he found himself in the elevator next to Senator Carol Moseley Braun. Then again, Albright seems to have been all but indifferent to domestic policy, unless you count the Lewinsky scandal. Welfare reform, race relations, poverty and healthcare are not, it seems, issues she ever considered in her eight years in the Cabinet. Unlike many of her colleagues in the Administration, Albright had no antiwar skeletons hidden in her closet from the 1960s. She did, however, pick up a nominal attachment to feminism, although one cannot help suspecting that this had more to do with self-advancement than with principle. Her memoirs conspicuously omit her vindictive and partisan summary dismissal from the UN mission of April Glaspie, the fall girl for the first Bush Administration's failure to stop Saddam Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Similarly, when she discusses Kosovo, Albright misses the inherently self-defeating stupidity of Clinton and the Administration in ruling out the one option that Milosevic feared—ground troops. The war is presented as if it were won by the long, messy and almost counterproductive high-altitude bombing missions that caused so many unnecessary casualties and did so much to erode international support for it.

Albright omits the crucial turning point, when Blair, Gen. Wesley Clark and the Europeans won their argument with a reluctant Clinton to prepare for a ground offensive. Although she quotes military historian John Keegan's description of Kosovo as the first war won by airpower, what finally impelled Milosevic to run up the white flag was the decision to prepare a ground invasion before the winter. But that decision negated the previous three months of Clintonian reliance on bombing as a quick fix. Once again, "collateral" civilian deaths caused by high-altitude bombing was "worth it" to avoid the domestic political repercussions that US casualties would have brought.

In a similar case of selective omission, Albright's description of the Middle East displays a spurious neutrality that carefully avoids upsetting the Israel lobby. She knew there was nothing to be gained on Capitol Hill from pressuring Israel, much less showing respect for the Palestinians. When she was America's ambassador to the UN, she made a point of avoiding an encounter with Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi, whom she spotted while shopping for a new gown for the inaugural ball. Even so, Sharon was, she says, "despised" by many, "especially Arabs for his role in Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, during which allied Lebanese militia massacred hundreds of unarmed Palestinian refugees." However, even that admission is far from candid. She is, of course, referring to the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, executed by Sharon's surrogate Phalangist militia as Israeli soldiers monitored their activities and provided military cover from the boundary of the camps, even firing flares so that the Phalange could continue killing after the sun went down. Albright's coyness about Sharon's responsibility is telling, coming as it does from someone who can be so explicit and precise about Saddam Hussein.

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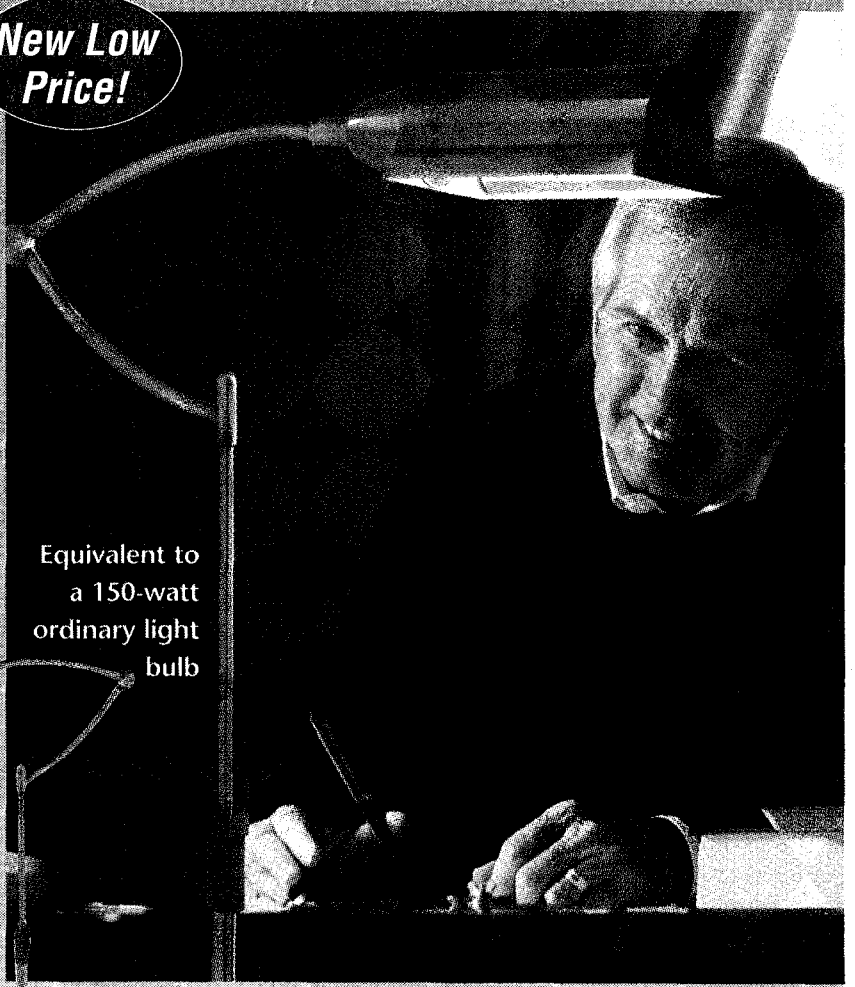

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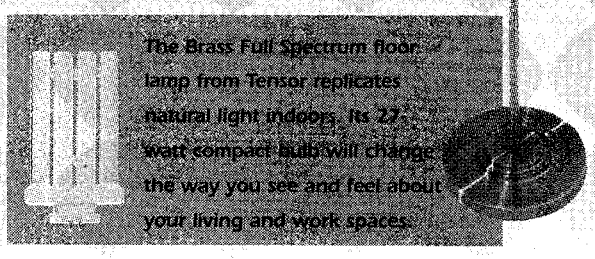
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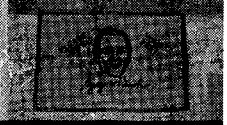

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EVENTS

NEW YORK

"Business Ethics After Enron"

■ New School University's Irene & Bernard L. Schwartz lecture series presents New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, Pete G. Peterson of The Blackstone Group and Ron Blackwell of the AFL-CIO discussing "Business Ethics After Enron." Bob Kerrey will moderate. Thursday, February 19, 6 PM, at Tishman Auditorium, 66 West 12th Street. Free admission. Seats are limited, reservations suggested. Call (212) 229-5488 or boxoffice@newschool.edu. The event will be webcast live at www.dialnsa.edu.

The Revolution Will Not Be Televised

■ Inside the Chávez coup in Venezuela: award-winning documentary by two Irish journalists who happened to be filming inside the palace on the day of the coup. Sunday, February 22, 10:30 AM, at the Walter Reade Theater, Lincoln Center Plaza. Guest speakers: Leonor Osorio Granado, consul general, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela; Mario Murillo, co-host, *Wake Up Call*, WBAI radio. Reception to follow. Tickets: $35 in advance, (212) 870-2304 or www.panys.org; $37.50 at the door. Benefit for Peace Action New York State, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 549, New York, NY 10115.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $175 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

She draws a similar veil over Clinton's retaliatory bombings of the pharmaceutical factory in Sudan, where successive independent observers have failed to detect the slightest sign of the military activities alleged by US intelligence to justify the bombing. It should have taught policymakers not to rely on "intelligence" reports. Instead, it seems to have convinced them that the intelligence agencies are like corporate lawyers, there to give the opinion you want, when you need to justify otherwise dubious activities.

On the whole, one cannot help wondering whether Madeleine Albright would not have been happier working with Donald Rumsfeld and George W. Bush than with Clinton. Her interventionist approach and rebarbative diplomatic style would be much more in harmony with them than Colin Powell's, even if she does share the latter's realist appreciation of the need for allies and multilateral support when possible.

Indeed, apropos Iraq, she has opposed the timing of the war, but she was "nod[ding] in agreement" with Bush's speech to the UN on September 12, 2002, when to anyone with any feeling for subtext the speech had a strong one of impending war. When asked by Lesley Stahl on *60 Minutes* about the alleged death of half a million Iraqi children as a result of sanctions, Albright said calmly, "We think the price is worth it." However, while she now admits that her answer was a political mistake, she does not seem disturbed by the level of casualties inflicted by the sanctions, nor does she seem aware that the sanctions are a major reason neither the United States nor the UN has received a warm welcome in Iraq, even among Saddam's Shiite opponents.

And that is where there is an essential identity and continuity between the Bush and Clinton foreign policies. The latter, by pandering to the dark forces of American reaction, paved the way for them to consolidate their hold on this White House. If fate had not landed her in the Clinton White House, Albright would have made a fine soulmate for the neoconservatives whom Christopher Hitchens admiringly calls "the Pentagon intellectuals." ■

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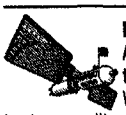

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ASHEVILLE, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP IS FORMING. Contact Jerry McKinney for more information: Call (828) 452-7603 or e-mail jaymac_enterprises@yahoo.com.

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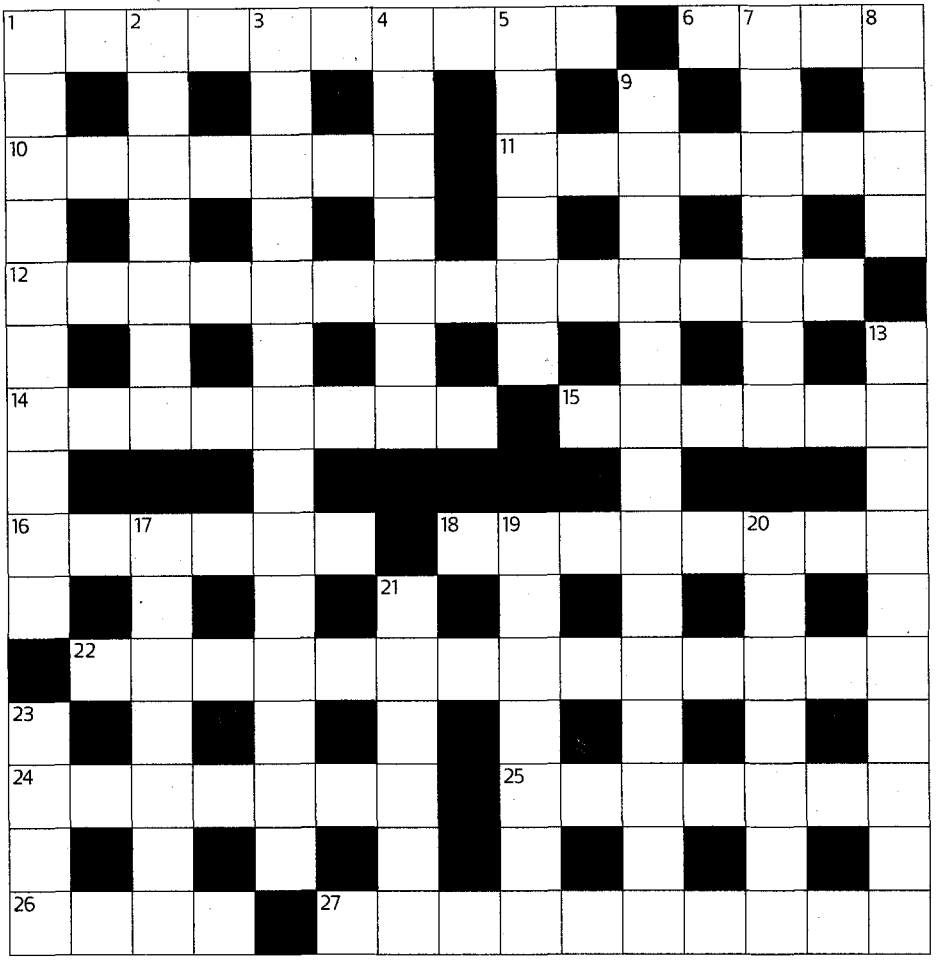

ACROSS

1 How some people get along with rocks at the top of a building. (10)

6 You should hope you don't get hit with it at the social gathering place. (4)

10 Give another name to the end of the quarrel with Adam's son. (7)

11 One who knows and says he knows when a song is played back and gets a little shaky. (7)

12 Does this paper come out only in March? (10,4)

14 The affected and bombastic style brought into vogue by John Lyly might get to use him up. (8)

15 What the would-be attendant says and releases things. (4,2)

16 An obvious toiler wouldn't do it, even if making it badly. (6)

18 What the pancake maker stirs might be heard when one is called to take a position at home. (6,2)

22 Even a crooked question deserves one. (8,6)

24 Is the game not in a mess with such a heavy burden? (7)

25 You can't say a place of learning doesn't have anything to stand on, but it takes some "cabbage" to get around it. (7)

26 A wild ride might have such consequences. (4)

27 One might be expected to return the carriage with it, particularly at the end of the line. (10)

DOWN

1 Jokingly, silver dollars show what very active types might turn. (10)

2 What one does with weeds and stops. (5,2)

3 They might rank in the British Navy but are not necessarily assigned to underwater craft. (14)

4 What one does on request, possibly, which is often much appreciated. (7)

5 Gone crazy about a couple of grand, which might call for a drink. (3,3)

7 Quite a few purposes for flowers here! (7)

8 Direct someone to the brook—often connected with a call? (4)

9 According to Walton it's only half coming with a fold of cloth, having a specific viewpoint—right? (8,6)

13 A traveling Bible-seller sounds quite a bit like the one who made night and day well known. (10)

17 Perhaps an unfinished greeting for one or two, for example. (7)

19 Something in the paper or magazine should make it clear. (7)

20 A fight comes up with the disorganized team getting something extremely rare. (3,4)

21 It's time New York City should be straightened out as an organization that provides some service! (6)

23 A maid would be quite shaken up in the center of things! (4)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

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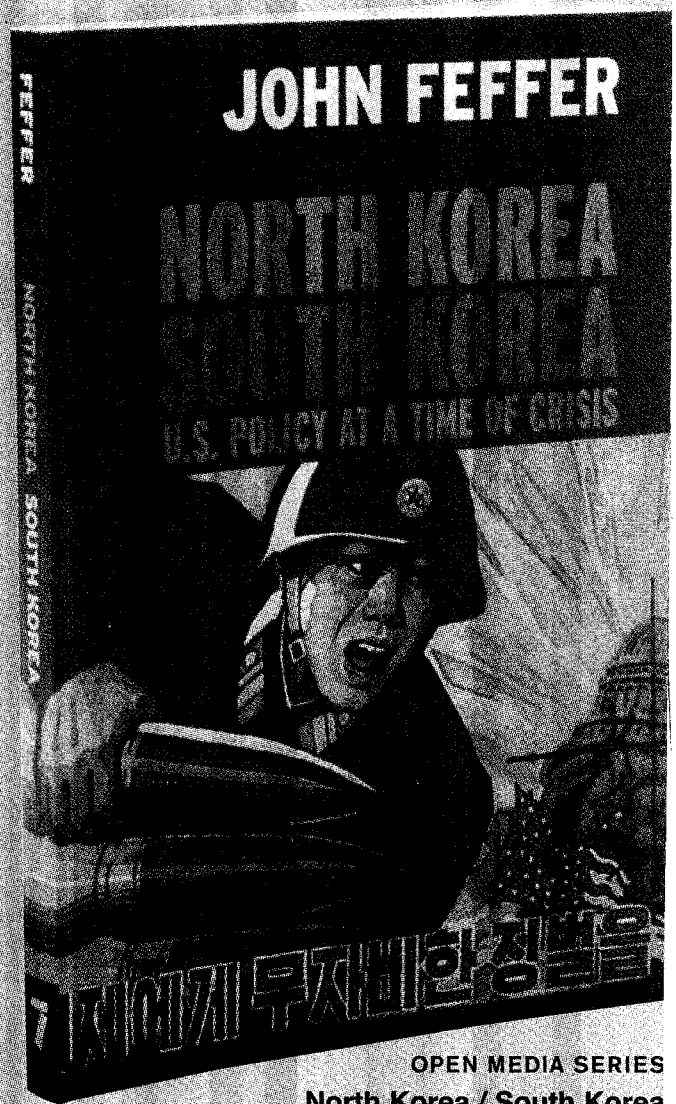
THE KOREAN THREAT?

John Feffer's new book shows that Bush administration crisis-mongering about North Korea is no more believable than its intelligence on Iraq. The North Korean reactor at Yongbyon is based on thirty-year-old designs and, incredibly, still uses vacuum tubes. North Korea spends $20 a year per soldier, whereas South Korea, whose GDP is only 25 times larger, spends $163,000 per soldier. The Koreans themselves are fully capable of unifying the Korean peninsula—if only the Pentagon would let them. Feffer's analysis is the most reliable, balanced report available on the Korean threat." **— Chalmers Johnson, author of *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire***

John Feffer provides a deeply informed and lucid account ... full of insight, pointing the way to constructive solutions that are within our grasp." **— Noam Chomsky**

A masterful, informative, eminently accessible look at the Korean crisis." **— C.S. Soong, host of Living Room, KPFA Radio**



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